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GAFSA INCIDENT REPERCUSSIONS EXAMINED

Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE in French Mar 80 pp 1, 19

[Article by Khemais Chamari, Tunisian journalist residing in France]

[Text] More than a month after the city of Gafsa was besieged in the early morning hours of 27 January 1980 by a commando group claiming to be connected with the Tunisian Armed Resistance (RAT), subsequently christened the General Revolutionary Committee for the Liberation of Tunisia (CRGLT), the matter is far from being closed. The military has remained silent, but in southern Tunisia the mood is one of inquisition. In the National Assembly on 13 February, several members demanded capital punishment for the approximately 50 rebels captured. The official Tunisian view, which reduces the incident to the venture of a "horde of mercenaries" totally manipulated by Libya and with discreet but effective accomplices in Algeria, quickly proved to be rather short-sighted, however. Exactly 2 years after the bloody repression of "Black Thursday," 26 January 1978, following the general strike launched by the UGTT [Tunisian General Federation of Labor], the Gafsa incident actually represents the second serious warning, in situations not at all similar, however, of a post-Bourguiba movement which is only just beginning ... But this time, with the signs of revival of the "cold war," the matter has taken on a disturbing international dimension. With the French naval show of force, the Moroccan king's military aid and especially Washington's decision to accelerate and increase arms shipments to the Tunisian Army, followed by the firm Soviet warning and the war between Tunis and Tripoli over the airwaves, a new source of tension has developed in the Maghrebian southeast and western Mediterranean.

When the supposed leaders of the "Amr Ibn Al'Ass"¹ commando group, Ezedine Cherif, known as "One-Eye," and Ahmed El Mergheni,² ordered their comrades into action about 0200 on Sunday, 27 January, until then Tunisian security

services had not suspected for a single instant their presence for several days in a house which had been converted into a veritable arsenal only a few hundred meters away from the headquarters of the governorate (prefecture).

To anyone familiar with the staff abilities of the sole government party and the various police forces associated with it, this inefficient intelligence gathering is the most striking fact in the Gafsa affair. Especially since the area was particularly well patrolled because of the presidential tour through the southern governorates. When the operation was launched (Was this a simple coincidence?), the chief of state was actually staying at the Sahara Palace in Nefta, about 80 kilometers southeast of Gafsa.

Thus in the dead of night and under circumstances which are still unclear, the commandos besieged the city of Gafsa. They were not driven out until almost 20 hours later, following bitter fighting with police forces and reinforcements of army and national guard units from Kasserine, Sousse, Sfax and Tunis. This was because most of the important Gafsa garrison had been moved toward the Tunisian-Libyan border--for usual maneuvers at that time of year, as some observers have noted, although the official version explains that these troop movements were due to the concentration of three Libyan Army tank divisions along the southwest border ...

Gafsa was under martial law until 3 February. The city was scrupulously searched and dozens of suspects apprehended. Nearby hills and palm groves were combed and journalists sent to Tunisia reported the existence of pockets of resistance for several days.

After a real panic, while the emissaries dispatched immediately to Paris and Washington appeared alarmed and insistent, the Tunisian Government finally issued its report and interpretation of the "Gafsa Strike"--15 dead and 16 persons wounded among the civilian population, 2 policemen dead and 1 wounded, 1 national guard member wounded, 20 dead and 90 wounded in the army, and 4 killed, 3 wounded and 42 captured in the case of the aggressors. According to the official view presented by the minister of the interior, the commandos, all recruited and trained in Libya, crossed the Tunisian-Algerian border near Bir-Om-Ali-Feriana after skirting the Algerian-Libyan borders. Their objective was to seize Gafsa's military centers and security posts before surrounding the city and then calling for reinforcements from a foreign government (Libya), which was ready "to provide them with arms and ammunition, even planes!" And the prime minister went even further, stating that "the aggressors intended to establish an autonomous region and to ask for foreign support."

Which Foreign Accomplices?

After trying to play down the operation, the investigators suddenly changed their tone and revealed the discovery of impressive arms caches spread over the southeastern and central eastern parts of the country. Departing from Libya, the conveyors of these arms probably followed the trail used by the Polisario Front's convoys via a wide detour to the east and through Algeria.

Algeria, implicated with the first official commentary, reacted sensitively, expressing "its amazement and regrets." That will be enough to appease the Tunisian Government which, while ignoring the statement of the Libyan Secretariat of Foreign Affairs questioning the authenticity of the evidence produced, is concentrating its fire on the Jamahiriya (Libyan People's Rally). Radio Tripoli's extremist propaganda is making this task particularly easy.

The firm reaction of Algerian officials to French military aid (especially the speech delivered by President Chadli Ben Jedid in Constantine) and the report from an official Tunisian source in transit, via Rome and the Algiers airport and then by car to Tebessa, concerning 28 members of the Gafsa commando group, will cause yet a new stiffening of relations and the controlled but insistent renewal of accusations against Algeria.

The official Tunisian version, supported by the televised confessions of some commandos with "faces swollen with traces of blows" is, however, questionable in many respects. First of all, with regard to the appraisal of the Gafsa operation and the size of the commando group.

Casualties were undeniably heavier than reported. Medical cross-checks would instead put the number of victims at about 300 to 350 persons among civilians, commandos and soldiers. Moreover, with regard to the size of the commando group, there is good reason to believe that the initial core and locally recruited members comprised an operational staff of 150 to 200 members (in its first military communique, the RAT reported that there were 300 members).

If we accept the government's theory of a commando group of 50 men, how could they alone have used the 83 machineguns, 9 bazookas, 60-mm mortars, 39 rifles and 53 submachineguns which made up the first batch of arms seized?

Even in the case of the more reliable theory of 150 to 200 armed men, how could such a group have managed to lay siege to a city of 35,000 residents and hold it for several hours without support, even within the meager garrison, and without the active complicity or accessory wait-and-see attitude of part of the population? If the rebels were not exposed in the days preceding the operation, when they were hiding out in a working-class district, it is because friendships played a role and that is far from being negligible.

It should be noted in passing that the summary executions and extortion blamed on the insurgents to further dramatize the situation have not yet been proven in the least. On the other hand, it has been difficult to hush up the report that some of the soldiers, young recruits captured and held hostage in a high school gymnasium, died following a mortar attack on the building by the army and a hole made by an explosion (RPG [expansion unknown]) in the wall surrounding the building.

Thereafter, a certain number of indications must be considered by anyone wishing to grasp the real significance of the incident.

A Fatal Mistake

The insurgents were Tunisian, almost all natives of Gafsa and the surrounding area. "Rebels and not mercenaries," the editor of a weekly publication beyond suspicion of sympathy for the Gafsa operation³ confirmed after 3 weeks of investigation and cross-checking. And he concluded: "Qadhafi called it off and, from this standpoint, he was right; basically, the Tunisians do not deny it and in any event, it is the truth on which public opinion has focused."

Beyond the imbroglio concerning the initials used, it seems clear today that the organizers of the "Arr Ibn Al'Ass" commando group and those who, in Tunisian circles abroad recognized that their goals were similar, belong to different ideological groups with nationalist, Arab and ultraleftist sympathies in which "pro-Libyan" hardliners were apparently not dominant, even though Tunisian government propaganda has tried to exaggerate the role of the FNPLT [Nationalist Front for the Liberation of Tunisia].⁴

In the preparatory stage at least, the operation was not impromptu. The rebels had local accomplices whom they probably tended to overestimate, but who nevertheless unquestionably existed.

Besides a certain number of military errors, which improvisation in executing orders does not sufficiently explain, the commandos made a fatal strategic mistake. Far beyond the inspiration and spirit of sacrifice, recalling the behavior of the Meccan insurgents, what they lacked was quite obviously the supportive mass uprising of a population whose feelings toward the government they certainly knew, but whose ability to rise up with arms in hand they overestimated. It was the stubborn conviction that Gafsa would be the starting point of a general revolt which most certainly united and motivated the commandos and their supporters. One of the maps confiscated from their HQ showed the Gafsa area marked with a red flame, perfectly illustrating their faith in a popular upheaval which would have spread from that epicenter throughout the country. But Gafsa was neither the igniting fuse nor the anticipated signal.

And yet the choice of date and place must have had symbolic value. The date is that of the second anniversary of the bloody events of 26 January 1978, but also as the first communique emphatically recalls, that of the eve of Mouled (birth of the prophet Mohammed) ... As for the location, Gafsa, a mining city (phosphates) at the crossroads of the high steppes, palm plantations and mountains, is the rallying place of the fierce Hamamas peoples who spearheaded the national liberation struggle whose armed action began in 1952 in the surrounding mountains. It was in Gafsa that important social movements broke out endemically, while the Tunisian General Federation of Labor (UGTT) was totally militarized. Just as during the protectorate which held the region under a military administration, it was in Gafsa that the merger of the coastal, central and southern trade unions was achieved in 1946 with a view to establishing the UGTT.

Under these conditions, how could a group of unemployed young men having emigrated to Libya, militants having chosen physical commitment to the Palestinian struggle and former Youssefist³ rebels having participated in the anticolonial campaign yield to the suicidal temptation of the "rebel path," taking the risk of provoking upheavals over which they would not necessarily have had full control? And how is it possible to explain that they believed that they had found, within the country itself--and which they actually did find, at least in part--a response which fostered their daring and their faith in revolutionary change?

There are the particular local conditions, of course, and we will come back to them. But without any doubt, it was because the government blocked all political solutions, because it used institutionalized violence, repression, intolerance and governmental systems so that, through the years, the gap between the government and civilian society widened. This ultimately overshadowed the government's principal achievements, leading to an unprecedented state of political and social stagnation.

The incident also raises questions about the Tunisian opposition. Repressed, fragmented, undermined by its ideological disputes, it was actually incapable of unifably establishing an alternate policy. Promoted by extremist minority groups thus far, the idea of a "people's war," touching the sensibilities of former rebels who have never forgiven the government for putting down the "Youssefist" dissent of 1955-56, has suddenly emerged from the exile of ideological debates and limited circles of conspirators to be put into practice by men ready to make sacrifices, thanks to Libyan, Palestinian and Saharan aid. Unfortunately, neither the Gafsa defeat nor possible increased repression seem to be able to convince those who saw reflections of themselves in the desperate outburst of 27 January. And only the prospect of a profound democratic change in the country could induce them to reconsider their present choices.

Caught short by an event which they could not--or did not--foresee, Tunisian politicians are in turn facing, like the Moroccan legal opposition before them, the proliferation of "inviolable unity" in the face of a continuous "foreign threat." The view of "clear aggression" currently counterbalances an escalation with unforeseeable consequences, with arguments and pretexts in a frenzied and unhealthy battle over the airwaves whose brunt the civilian population, particularly Tunisian immigrant workers in Libya, are inevitably bearing.

Calling for calm, as some Tunisian opposition groups and figures are trying to do, usually from exile it is true, is not easy under these circumstances. It is primarily a question of not yielding to the excesses of warmongering and refusing to contribute to the conflict between two brother peoples united by an historic community of language and civilization. Of course, this attitude implies that the same steadfastness be shown toward foreign intervention, interference or protection, regardless of their origin.

But Gafsa is also in a state of political stagnation, the unrest of those who are repressed, an Arab-Islamic identity challenged daily and which the Iranian shock wave has reinvigorated, and the popular opposition of Youssefism to Bourguibaism.

Social and Regional Inequalities

Mohammed Harbi, former adviser to the Algerian FLN leadership and historian of the Maghrebian National Movement, recently analyzed this phenomenon and its significance in the popular consciousness.⁶ "There are myths which die hard," he writes, "such as that of reactionary Youssefism, a view defended by leftist Tunisian intellectuals, although a study of this movement shows that, like Bourguibaism, it was an interclass type of group rooted in Djerban wholesale trade but also and especially in the lower classes of Tunis and the underprivileged southern rural population, the strike force of the armed resistance. The opposition of these classes to compromise with France has not been subdued, as some believe or would have others believe, by the supporters of President Bourguiba. The support which the French Army has given to the latter has been decisive ... Defeated by Youssefism, popular opposition to Bourguibaism, particularly in the south, since 1956 has constantly sought an alternative which disregards national borders.

Of course, this social poverty is not as appalling as in some of the most deprived areas of the Third World. But in the case of Tunisia, with the means of a modern nation open to outside innovative currents and the tragedies of underdevelopment fraught with despair at the same time, social contrasts and inequalities definitely run the risk of being perceived more and more keenly.

Business, that of speculators and middlemen of all kind, is thriving and tourism sends back a reassuring image of the country. Twenty percent of the population, i.e. the more affluent classes, devote 40 percent of their expenditures to housing and the number of automobiles, like all modern consumer goods, is constantly increasing, unhampered by fiscal restraints. But more than one-fifth of the employable population is looking for work, 54 percent of whom are young people, and 27.5 percent of households are below the poverty level estimated by the World Bank at 80 dinars per year: repeated price jumps and the decline of the people's purchasing power are causing more and more tension while inflation is being aggravated by a credit policy which is becoming totally unrealistic.⁷

Increased private acquisition of land, coupled with an erosion of investments in agriculture (11 percent in the case of the current Fifth Plan, 1977-81), are accelerating the phenomenon of depopulation of rural areas and jeopardizing the few positive achievements of the agrarian policy of the sixties. The percentage of national revenue from total wages has been eroding continually for 15 years, whereas the billionaires' club is constantly admitting new members, including the principal government dignitaries. The general spread of education, which was one of the government's achievements, has been gradually eroded by a selective policy which strikes squarely at the

children of the most underprivileged urban and particularly rural classes. Each year, 100,000 young people leave school, at least 70 percent of whom have no chance of finding work. This policy, which impoverishes and deprives the very poor while shamelessly enriching the very rich, is pursued in the name of economic liberalism, which is resulting in more and more integration of the Tunisian economy in the international division of labor, which means greater dependence.

A certain number of symptoms linked to the aggravation of regional imbalances deserves special attention. Nepotism and regionalist-type behavior have actually enabled the urban middle class of the coastal governorates to gain control of political power and most economic power. Not only has no strategy for restoring a balance to the national economy been implemented to distribute development more equitably, but what is worse, the trend toward imbalance, harmful to the interior governorates--particularly those of Kef, Jendouba, Kasserine, Kairouan and Gafsa--has only grown stronger. With regard to the southern governorates, a study of industrial investments by region shows the following comparative data:

	<u>1962-71</u>	<u>1973-76</u>
Tunis	24%	34%)
Coastal Governorates	54%, with 18% for Medenine (Djerba)	60%, with 0.7% for Medenine (Djerba))
Interior Governorates	22%, with 7.3% for Gafsa	6%, with 2.4% for Gafsa

With more than 6 million inhabitants, Tunisia's population is growing at the rate of approximately 2.3 percent annually, but uneven regional dynamics have led to a decline in population for 5 years in the Gafsa governorate and a veritable exodus from that of Medenine.

It is the southern regions which, in proportion, provide the largest contingents of candidates for legal or illegal emigration (to Libya in particular). The hope of these young people, forced into exile, is the sustaining force of the most violent revolts.

A study by Messrs Camau, N. Sraieb and Dubray, conducted in 1972 through the CRESM [Center for Research and Studies on Mediterranean Societies] on "The Education of the Maghrebien Elite" and involving a limited but apparently representative sampling, leads to these revealing conclusions: 73 percent of the elite are natives of four governorates (Tunis, Sousse, Medenine-Djerba, Sfax); the other governorates share the remaining 27 percent, with only 3.1 percent for the governorate of Gafsa.

If we add that 90 percent of jobs and approved investments are concentrated in the capital and the eight coastal governorates, with 60 percent in Tunis, and the remaining governorates sharing the other 10 percent, we can understand why the crisis of educational prospects, particularly in Gafsa, led to this cry which in 1972 rallied the entire high-school revolt: "With or without education, there is no future!" Eight years ago, a good number of the Gafsa commandos were still students.

It is in this economic context that social and working-class struggles should be placed, particularly those which, from spring to fall 1977, led to the bloody events of 26 January 1978, as a result of the openly defiant attitude of employers and leaders of the sole party. Under the pressure of more and more combative bases, the UGTT learned to assert its independent will and watched its influence on the national scene grow to the point of being considered the major channel of struggles for democratic change in the country.

The way in which the trade union federation has been deprived of its leadership has certainly contributed decisively to eliminating any prospect of political action for young people, who were deeply traumatized by the shock of 26 January.

"Working-Class Struggles and Inviolable Unity"

Yet despite the repression of youth and workers (trials, raids, occupational restrictions, layoffs, laws on "civilian service" and "national service"), trade union resistance promoted by the UGTT's legitimate structures and supported by international solidarity have made it possible to isolate the "leadership" which the government installed at the head of the UGTT in February 1978. Thus 212 strikes were launched during the first 10 months of 1979 and, on the eve of the Gafsa incident, many worker assemblies decided to revive the movement of protest and solidarity with trade unionists under arrest, such as Habib Achour, general secretary of the UGTT, who is under strict house arrest. These actions, preceded by the Sfax railroad strike on 23, 24 and 25 January were mainly intended to challenge the sudden increase of more than 17 percent in the prices of basic foodstuffs (bread, coffee, sugar, oil, etc.), announced on 21 January at the same time as a paltry 3-percent increase in the interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage and the agricultural guaranteed minimum wage. And indeed, the strike of the National Transportation Company in Tunis took place successfully on the very day after the Gafsa operation was launched. But many strikes have since been canceled, since the climate of "inviolable unity" organized by the Tunisian Government makes any "discordant" political or social initiative very difficult.

Despite the very strong pressures which they are under, trade union leaders have nevertheless maintained an attitude of cautious restraint, refusing to include their voices in the various choruses demanding "national protection" against the "foreign threat."

What can and must be questioned first and foremost is the choice of an armed struggle and the circumstances which have caused it to be considered a possibility, not the existence of "sanctuaries" or of foreign support without which it had no chance of success anywhere. In response to the challenges of President Sadat and the West, Libyan leaders definitely intend to be a stumbling block to imperialism, but some of their initiatives and some of their geopolitical choices raise legitimate reservations. But they can hardly be seriously held responsible for all disorders, nor can the operation of 27 January in Tunisia be reduced to simply their alleged destabilizing stimulus.

in any case, it is too early to speculate about the political spinoffs of the government's rallying, in different ways of course, of a significant part of the opposition or of the opposing liberal minority. It is certain, however, that coming after the crisis which followed the party congress in September and whose temporary epilog was the dismissal of the minister of defense, the Gafsa affair and its repercussions within a very shaken political class will affect the current balance of power.

As for the rest of the opposition, from the Islamic movement to the radical left to the Marxist-Leninist extreme left, it has maintained, but in every tone of the scale, the indictment against the government's policy and the denunciation of "foreign intervention and protection, regardless of their origin" and rejection of "French military intervention."

Contradictory reports concerning the nature and extent of French military support to the Tunisian army are not helping at all to straighten out matters. Besides the presence of three French ships in the Gulf of Gabes, the "Duguay-Trouin," "Vendee" and "Colbert," was there only the logistical aid of Transall planes and Puma helicopters, which have since returned to their home bases? And what are we to think of the reports concerning Mirage intervention, for verification purposes, by the Merignac (Gironde) Reconnaissance Flight or the presence and role of French military advisers to the Tunisian General Staff? All of that is disturbing, for joint French-American action in the Mediterranean can only aggravate tension in an area in which East-West confrontation is particularly keen.

Giving nonalinement back its original content to reduce the factors causing such a confrontation and to preserve the national independence of bordering nations today constitutes a major requirement for Mediterranean countries. Therefore, an attitude consisting of giving preference to French intervention, at the least warning or provocation, and of preferring gunboat diplomacy is a choice to which the Tunisian opposition cannot be indifferent.

FOOTNOTES

1. From the name of a famous figure of the Islamic school, who sided with the prophet after opposing him.
2. Ezedine Cherif, called "One-Eye," is a veteran of the national movement and a former supporter of Ben Youssef (cf. footnote 9 [as published]). He was sentenced to 10 years in prison following the 1962 conspiracy. Ahmed El Merghani is a young militant who belonged to the FNPLT (cf. footnote 7).
3. JEUNE AFRIQUE of 15-22 February 1980.
4. Progressive National Front for the Liberation of Tunisia, several of whose militants were implicated in 1975 in an attack on national security. Some are still in prison. The FNPLT's leading figure is Amara Dhaou, also known as Hadj'Amara Naili.

5. From the name of nationalist leader Salah Ben Youssef, President Bourguiba's main rival in 1955 following the signing of the agreements on internal autonomy. He was assassinated in Frankfurt in 1971 and 13 years later, in May 1974, in a public speech the chief of state congratulated those who carried out that mission. In 1962, Salah Ben Youssef's supporters were among the organizers of a plot exposed by Tunisian authorities. Mr Ibrahim Tobbal and the National Opposition Movement (MONT), which he claims to represent, have come forward since 1956 as the spokesmen for the Youssefist faction.
6. LIBERATION, 6 February 1980.
7. For all economic references in the present article, cf. Jean Poncet: "La Tunisie a la recherche de son avenir" [Tunisia in Search of its Future] (Editions Sociales, Paris); Yves Gazzo: "Afrique du Nord--d'hier a demain" [North Africa--from Yesterday to Tomorrow] (Economica, Paris); UGTT Report on Wage Increases and Indexing, Tunis, December 1976; Daniel Kamelgarn: "Tunisie 1970-1977, le developpement d'un capitalisme dependant" [Tunisia 1970-1977, the Development of Dependent Capitalism], study conducted under a program of the DGRST [General Delegation for Scientific and Technical Research] on the DIT [expansion unknown], article published in PEUPLES MEDITERRANEENS, No. 4, Paris; About Turak, "La Satellisation, 4e et 5e Plans" [Satellitism, 4th and 5th Plans], LES TEMPS MODERNES, special issue on the Maghreb, Paris; "L'Economie tunisienne entre la propagande et la realite" [The Tunisian Economy between Propaganda and Reality], MUP [Popular Unity Movement], August 1978.
8. Center for Research and Studies on Mediterranean Societies, in Aix-en-Provence.

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CSO: 4400

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

FATAH OFFICIAL: PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION FACING CRITICAL DAYS

LDO50953 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 3 Jun 80 p 15

["Exclusive" statement given by Salim al-Za'nun, alias Abu al-Adib, Fatah Central Committee member and Fatah representative in Kuwait and the Gulf to AL-SIYASAH correspondent in Kuwait--date not given]

[Excerpts] Salim al-Za'nun, alias Abu al-Adib, Fatah Central Committee member and Fatah representative in Kuwait and the Arab Gulf, stressed on his return yesterday from the Fourth Fatah Congress in Damascus that the resistance is convinced that it is approaching very critical days. The Palestinian command has received several warnings and several reports about the possibility of the Palestinian revolution becoming the target of liquidation operations inside and outside the occupied territories. He said that the savage conspiracy against several West Bank mayors yesterday was probably a link in the chain of operations directed against the resistance with all its factions.

Abu al-Adib confirmed in this respect AL-SIYASAH's report that the Israeli sea landing operation on the southern Lebanese coast on 8 May took place on the same day the Fourth Fatah Congress was scheduled to meet at the engineering college in Saba [in Beirut]. Therefore, the Israeli attempt at that time, although maybe not intended to reach the meeting place, was at least aimed at ruining the conference by preoccupying the resistance with the Israeli landing operation.

Abu al-Adib said that the Fourth Fatah Congress, which concluded its work in Damascus last weekend, coincided with indications of Israel's intention to concede to Jordan some tactical and transient matters such as involving it as a partner in administering minor affairs in the occupied territories while leaving important affairs in the hands of Israel until such time as Israel is able to achieve its long-standing goal of vacating the occupied territories of their inhabitants.

For this reason, Abu al-Adib added, the Fourth Fatah Congress thoroughly studied what is happening in the internal front in the occupied territories,

in the Arab front supporting the resistance and in the international arena. After a comprehensive study there was a full realization that what is happening in Europe is political good but we should not expect early results as Europe is still under the U.S. umbrella and domination and is not yet fully emancipated from Washington although it is supposed to be aware of the links between its interests and Arab oil.

Abu al-Adib said that this diagnosis of the situation caused a reaction at the Fatah movement's conference which called for the adoption of a hardline as a counter to the hard line with which the Palestinian revolution is being faced. For this reason it was necessary to rearrange matters with a view to confronting the plans aimed at excluding the PLO and the Palestinian people from the Middle East political map. Moreover, the proposed plans now hint at Jordan being the only part to deal with in the question of settlement, which is similar to what happened in 1967 when they [not specified] proposed returning the West Bank to Jordan, for this reason we are seeking to convince Jordan not to fall victim to this American trick.

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FATAH CONGRESS SEEN 'REASSERTING GENERAL POLICIES'

LD031301 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Jun 80 p 5

[Article by 'Irfan Nizam al-Din: "A Reading in Fatah's Statements"]

[Excerpts] The main result of Fatah's Fourth Congress has been the renewal of confidence in Yasir 'Arafat and the granting to him of full authority to act in the military and political fields to deal with the coming phase and promote the Palestine cause toward new horizons.

On the level of relations with the Arab regimes, the congress reasserted the general policies which Fatah has implemented with complete success and through which it has won the friendship of everybody, particularly the policy of noninterference in Arab states' internal affairs. Meanwhile, the scale tipped in favor of the current advocating the continuation of the dialog with Jordan--a matter which the congress gave "special importance."

A final observation on Fatah's statement concerns the vehemence of the tone of denunciation of the United States and its policy and of the call to confront that policy vigorously. Nevertheless, the responsibility for this hostility falls not on the Palestinians but on the American administration, which has frustrated so many attempts to win the Palestinians' confidence, as well as on President Carter who has opposed, with a strange stubbornness potential peace opportunities of which the European initiative could have been the most important.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

FATAH OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON ASPECTS OF PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

LD300813 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 27 May 80 pp 22,23

[Interview with Majid abu Sharar, Fatah Revolutionary Council secretary and official in charge of Palestinian information by Salih Qallab in Beirut--date not given]

[Excerpt] Beirut--[Question] The question of the European initiative appears to be the most important current issue in the Palestinian arena. What we wish to ask is: Is there really a European initiative, what is its framework and how serious is it?

[Answer] I would like to begin by talking about the last resolution adopted by the UN Security Council on 8 May 1980 calling on the Israeli Government to repatriate the mayors of Hebron and Halhul and Hebron's canonical law judge. On the request of UN Secretary General Dr Waldheim, the three men proceeded to the bridge [King Husayn bridge between Jordan and Israel] in order to return to their country. There they found the same officer who had led the operation to deport them to Lebanon waiting for them on the bridge. The officer told them that when the Israeli Government deports a person, that person cannot return and that as far as Israel is concerned, the Security Council resolution means nothing. At this point, I would like to refer to [Hebron mayor] Brother Fahd al-Qawasimah's statement to King Husayn after the three men had returned from the bridge: Will Israel, which rejects the repatriation of 3 Palestinians, agree within the framework of a political solution to the return of 3 million Palestinians who are dispersed outside their homeland? What has been taken by force can be retaken only by force.

American Policy and Arab Failure

I bring this event to the attention of all those who have illusions about the possibility of achieving a political solution to the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian issue, under such conditions as those we are now experiencing, which are characterized by obvious Arab failure to confront the American policy, by a divided Arab stand and by hesitation on the part of those who have national and pan-Arab interests to confront and adopt

genuine and effective stands against the American policy. This has a negative impact on the Palestinian resistance, which is still being subjected to many pressures and before which many obstacles are being raised to prevent it carrying out the struggle with the required effectiveness. It is also being presented with many illusions, including the European initiative.

At this juncture, we ask: How far can the group of West European states go in taking a political and strategic stand in isolation from the United States?

I believe that this possibility is slim, if not nil, because these states, together with America, constitute the world imperialist camp which places its interests above the interests of peoples, including the peoples of our area. As long as imperialist interests in the Arab area are protected by existing regimes and as long as the Arab liberation forces, led by the resistance, have not as yet taken a serious step to threaten these interests and to liberate the nation's resources which are being looted, we cannot think of any single reasonable reason for the imperialist camp to adopt a new policy toward our just causes.

The European Initiative To Fill Political Vacuum

Therefore, the European initiative, which is supposed to have been declared with America's blessing, is designed to fill a political vacuum in the area following the failure of the autonomy talks after 26 May and to afford President Carter full time to dedicate himself to his election campaign. The initiative came after the Camp David parties had announced that 26 May was not the deadline for the autonomy talks, that the talks could be extended and that there was no deadline for the talks. This confirms that the possibility of an independent Western European political action is nil.

[Question] But even some of the friendly states, such as the Soviet Union, have supported Giscard d'Estaing's statement and taken a positive attitude toward the development of the European stand toward the Palestinian issue?

[Answer] We must differentiate between European political and diplomatic action, which we must continue to encourage and promote in order to develop the European states' attitude and win more of their public support, and wagering on a European stand in our favor.

What Does This French Stand Mean?

We differentiate completely between these two things. Therefore, I reemphasize the importance of approaching these states in order to develop their attitude without wagering on their stands which are closely linked with the American policy.

Here let me point to France's abstention in the vote on the resolution presented to the Security Council recently during the discussion of the Palestinian issue. Although this attitude surprised some people, it did not

surprise us because we draw a broad line between American policy and French policy. Our current basic dispute with France is due to the fact that France regards us as a basic representative of the Palestinian people while we say that we are the only representative. This is a bait which the French president is using to lure us onto the Jordanian hook. America and Israel see that a solution can be achieved only through Jordan. This is what we categorically reject. If Jordan is now being given so much political importance, this is due not to the strength of Jordan, which is completely rejected by the Palestinians, but to the weakness of the Arab stand.

The Arab States Which Rejected the Establishment of the Palestinian State

[Question] What you have just said contradicts the successive statements made by the King [Husayn of Jordan] in which he has said that any solution to the Middle East issue must include a just solution to the Palestinian issue on the basis of the right to self-determination?

[Answer] We have no confidence in most official Arab statements. All the Arab states have informed the PLO leadership that they support the right of return and of self-determination to establish an independent state. But President Carter said that the Arab states had informed him that they were against the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Carter's statement was denied only by Syria and Kuwait, bearing in mind that the statement meant King Husayn more than others and he was therefore supposed to say something instead of evading the issue by using political expressions which could be interpreted in so many ways, such as the expression: a just solution to the Palestinian issue.

We therefore believe that the present phase is not the phase of settlement. Those who are wagering on a settlement during this phase are in fact aboard America's bandwagon. The present phase is the phase of confronting Camp David, of overthrowing these capitulationist agreements and of creating a new Arab political situation which will promote the operation of the struggle. The balance is now being left clearly tilted in favor of America and Israel. Any solution reached through the imbalance of power is a solution which is in the interest of America and Israel and at the expense of not only the Palestinian people but the Arab nation as well.

The Organization and the New Arab Axis

[Question] There is talk about an Iraqi-Jordanian-Saudi axis. Some say that the PLO is in the process of joining this axis. In your capacity as Fatah Revolutionary Council secretary, what do you say?

[Answer] Our axis is the steadfastness and confrontation front. We are trying to develop this front and to build its institutions. By developing it, we mean propelling it toward a more decisive and clear position against our enemies and a more sincere and earnest position toward our friends. What governs Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq governs us only to the extent that it

serves our battle against American imperialism and the Zionist enemy. What governs us is our own program and not the programs of the regimes. In our eagerness to maintain the independence of Palestinian national decision-making we do not permit any regime to have its program prevail over our program because the question primarily concerns us in the Palestinian arena. The more we escalate our armed struggle inside the occupied territories, safeguard and promote our Palestinian national unity and differentiate between our friends and enemies, the more we protect our program and revolution and prevent any influence on our march.

What Happened at the Fatah Conference

[Question] In the Palestinian arena Fatah has held a conference and preparations are being made to convene a conference of the national council. In your capacity as member and official of these two conferences can you throw some light on them?

[Answer] As far as the Fatah conference is concerned, it is a secret conference and a purely internal matter. For this reason we do not say anything about it more than that it is one of the most important Palestinian conferences because Fatah is the biggest and most important Palestinian organization. Our success will undoubtedly have a great impact on the Palestinian national council during its upcoming session. We hope that the two conferences will constitute a step forward toward developing and advancing the Palestinian struggle. I believe that the national council has the task of confirming the political and organizational programs, assessing the previous phase of action and electing a new executive committee.

The Prospects for the Situation in South Lebanon

[Question] Israeli attacks on Palestinian positions in Lebanon are recurring day after day. Do you expect the scope of these attacks to expand in a comprehensive manner?

[Answer] We expect the Israeli operations against us to continue. We expect them to take place any time and any place; every Palestinian, both military and civilian, is a target for the Israeli attacks. Nevertheless, we are constantly capable of confronting these attacks and of escalating our operations in our occupied homeland. The heroic Hebron operation is a powerful example of our ability to strike everywhere and to continue to deal blows to the haughtiness of the arrogant enemy who is still brandishing his stick in the face of his vanquished nation. This nation must unite; it must break the intimidating and terrifying stick over the head of this enemy who is usurping our land and dispersing our people.

[Question] For some time now the Lebanese arena has been experiencing an atmosphere of national detente. In view of the importance of the Palestinian role in this field, are you prepared to talk with the Lebanese front?

[Answer] Our ally in the Lebanese arena is the progressive and nationalist movement. Its concept for achieving national detente governs us. We have declared that we are for their program to achieve detente. When President Sarkis announced his program, the executive committee supported it.

We care for the unity, safety and security of Lebanon as much as we care for the continuation of our revolution and our right to be present in the Lebanese arena according to the agreements concluded with the Lebanese authorities. We categorically reject the idea of settlement [of Palestinians in Lebanon] which the Americans and their agents in Lebanon will try to achieve after disarming the Palestinians and turning them into a herd of workers in factories and feudal estates.

For this reason the most important guarantee against the implementation of the settlement conspiracy is for the Palestinian to hold onto his rifle and to fight to return to his homeland.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLF LEADER REJECTS EUROPEAN INITIATIVE, PRAISES SYRIA'S STAND

LD281529 Kuwait AL-BIYASAH in Arabic 24 May 80 p 18

[Interview granted by Tal'at Ya'qub, general secretary of the Palestine Liberation Front, to Ahmad al-Ma'luf in Beirut--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] May 26th is approaching with no signs on the horizon of a way out of the impasse the Camp David agreement has reached. It appears that war is a likely possibility. Do you agree with this conclusion or think otherwise?

[Answer] I can say that the Camp David conspiracy, through which imperialism has sought to infiltrate our Arab area, has been met with total resistance and rejection by our people in the occupied territories who have expressed their will through uprisings and daily strikes and demonstrations as well as by categorically rejecting the proposed autonomy because it separates the people from the land. Even the collaborating agents in the occupied territories did not dare to say "yes" to autonomy and all the Arab peoples have rejected it because it is a conspiracy for renewed imperialist domination of the area. For this reason Camp David has indeed reached deadlock. As for the possibilities of war being waged against the Palestinian revolution, this is always likely because the Palestinian revolution is the powerful voice, particularly in Lebanon, that is standing firm and seeking to abort this conspiracy and all the imperialist plans. This voice has a great influence throughout the Arab homeland and for this reason imperialism and the Zionist enemy are seeking to strike at the revolution and put an end to it.

[Question] What is the Palestine Liberation Front's view of the European initiative?

[Answer] We consider the European initiative another facet of Camp David. The move by the European countries is a contribution to the U.S. plan to rescue Camp David from this deadlock. We have been and still are against resolution 242 and any amendments to it. The European initiative incorporates five amendments to this resolution. We believe that the basic aim of the initiative is to involve Jordan in the settlement. We believe that the

European initiative is a continuation of the plot against our people's revolution and is totally rejected by us. Recent statements by certain Palestinian leaders somehow agree with the European initiative. It is in our interest to escalate armed struggle and to mobilize our people inside the country in a persistent struggle to thwart the Camp David conspiracy. We are not against making our views known to the European countries. We are in favor of winning understanding of our cause by these countries which should recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our people providing that such recognition does not mean the Palestinian revolution making concessions to liberate Palestine.

[Question] Syria had announced the opening of its borders to Fedayeen operations yet so far not a single military operation has been launched from the Golan. How do you explain this?

[Answer] There is a clear indication by the Syrian regime toward helping the resistance to operate from the Syrian borders with Palestine. I believe that this stand is compatible with the Syrian regime's present policy of confronting Camp David and U.S. imperialism. This is evident in the Syrian regime's support for the Lebanese nationalist movement and the Palestinian resistance. I believe that the Syrian regime is serious about giving facilities to the resistance. I also noticed at the steadfastness and confrontation conference that Syria inclined strongly toward adopting a resolution calling for the opening of Jordanian borders to the Palestinian resistance.

[Question] It is being said that the Lebanese nationalist movement is now in the course of reorganizing its structure with the aim of unifying national action. How do you believe joint action between the resistance and the Lebanese nationalist movement should be in the future?

[Answer] We consider the Lebanese nationalist movement the legitimate representative of the Lebanese masses. Therefore, our call to all the progressive and nationalist forces is clear, namely to join the Lebanese nationalist movement and to agree on an effective formula that will join together all these forces under the banner of the Lebanese nationalist movement. With regard to our relations with the movement, the Palestinian revolution is organically linked to the Lebanese nationalist movement and stands with it in the same trench. Our battle of resisting the conspiracy which is aimed against both of us is one and the same. Frankly, we must not be content with only coordination meetings but rather we should, at this particular stage when the conspiracy is at its height, lay down detailed program for daily actions and joint struggle in the Lebanese arena.

CSO: 4802

SUPPORT FOR COOPERATION WITH PALESTINIANS MANIFESTED

Bourguiba Receives Palestinian Leader

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 7 Jun 80 p 1

[Text] Yesterday morning, at the Carthage Palace, President Bourguiba received Palestinian leader Abou Iyad, who was accompanied by activist Abou Hichem.

The meeting took place in the presence of Mohamed Mzall, prime minister; Mongi Kooli, Party director and minister-delegate of the prime minister; and Hakam Balaoui, PLO representative in Tunis.

Upon his departure from the presidential Palace, Abou Iyad said that his visit to Tunisia took place following the Fourth Congress of the "Path" Movement to reaffirm the solidity of the fraternal relations between the Tunisian and Palestinian peoples.

He added, "As usual, we found President Bourguiba at the side of our cause and Revolution."

The Palestinian leader also emphasized, "All questions brought up during this talk held the attention of President Bourguiba who expressed to us his solidarity with the Palestinian people inside occupied territories."

"The chief of state told us of the distress he felt as the result of terrorists activities carried out by the Zionist enemy against activists Bassam Chaka and Karim Khalaf," said Abou Iyad, adding that this was "an extension of the terrorism of Begin and his band."

"We also transmitted to President Bourguiba the greetings of the Palestinian combatants and people and expressed to him our wishes for a long life," he continued.

"The president of the republic," Abou Iyad concluded, "asked us to transmit his greetings to Yasser Arafat and to his Palestinian brothers."

Fatah, PSD Cooperation Discussed

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 8 Jun 80 p 4

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, in Party offices in the Casbah, Mongi Kooli, PSD [Destourian Socialist Party] director and minister-delegate of the prime minister, received activist Palestinian leader Abou Iyad who was accompanied by activist Abou Nicheh.

At the end of the talk which was also attended by Hakam Balaoui, PLO representative in Tunis, Abou Iyad expressed his regard for the structural organization of the PSD and the importance of the avant-garde role it is assuming in the leading of the popular masses.

He also indicated that the talk had dealt with the means for cooperation in all sectors between the "Fatah" organization and the PSD and also with the latest developments in the Palestinian question, particularly as regards the Palestinian People's Revolution in occupied territories.

The Palestinian leader added that he had also taken advantage of the opportunity to congratulate Kooli, in the name of the Palestinian Revolution on his appointment as director of the PSD and expressed the hope, in this regard, of seeing cooperation between the two parties strengthened.

In conclusion, Abou Iyad called upon the Almighty to give long life to the supreme combatant, President Habib Bourguiba, so that he could continue his wise policy of guiding Tunisia and manifesting his solidarity and support for the Palestinian cause.

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CSO: 4400

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ARAB YOUTH OFFICIAL--Zouhir Eddouri, president of the Arab Youth Union and of the General Union of Iraqi Youth, arrived in Tunis Friday evening for a visit during which he was to have talks with the youth leaders of Tunisia on the subject of ways and means of strengthening relations between the Union of Destourian Socialist Youth and the General Union of Iraqi Youth. Eddouri said that his visit to Tunisia has the purpose of activating cooperation and strengthening cooperation between the two youth organizations. Upon his arrival at the Tunis-Carthage international airport, Eddouri was greeted by Mohsen Ghemidane, president of the Union Destourian Socialist Youth. [Text] [Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 8 Jun 80 p 4] 8143

IDCAS DELEGATION--Yesterday, in the government palace in the Casbah, Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali received a delegation from the Center for Industrial Development (IDCAS) of the secretariat general of the League of Arab States and of the Union of Arab Engineers. The talks which took place in the presence of the minister of transport and communications, Sadak Ben Jaman, dealt with the first Arab conference on the activities of industrial and technical consultations which will be held in Tunis 14-19 June. The delegation expressed its appreciation to President Habib Bourguiba and its thanks to the Tunisian government for the assistance and support given to the organizers of this conference. The members of the delegation thanked Mohamed Mzali for agreeing to preside at the opening of the work of this conference. [Text] [Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 7 Jun 80 p 4] 8143

CSO: 4400

ISLAMIC POSITION ON INTEREST EXPLAINED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 28 Apr 80 pp 38-39

[Article by al-Amin ibn 'Umar: "Crisis in Islamic Development Bank in Jiddah: What Is Islamic Economy's Position on Issue of Interest?"]

[Text] When the Islamic Development Bank in Jiddah tried to deposit its funds in the Saudi Arab Monetary Establishment recently, a real crisis erupted because this establishment deposits its funds in Arab [sic] banks that deal in interest. What are the dimensions of this problem and how can it be solved in the light of the modern age?

The comparative economic studies were confined to comparing the different economic systems, restricted until recently to the two systems generally known in advance as the western capitalist economic system and the eastern socialist economic system, or rather the Marxist communist economic system. Each of the two has its social and political philosophy, or its ideology, in life and in society, as it is well known.

But something new has developed in the world of economy now as a result of the rising Arab Islamic tide embodied in the political awakening which has shone on us with the onset of the 15th century of the Hegira. These winds of change are accompanied by endeavors to create a third economic system different from the two systems that we have known. There are those who believe today in changing the scientific view toward the two aforementioned--capitalist and socialist--systems and considering them a single "materialist" economic system because both are devoid of spiritual and ethical elements in their commercial, financial and monetary dealings. These people call, on the other hand, for a new "Islamic" economic system that does not separate the material from the moral but builds dealings in the material sphere on major consideration for the moral sphere. God, may He be praised, says: "Seek the hereafter in what God has given you." This is a new view to our age but a view that is as old as Islam itself. Therefore, there is no separation between the world, life, living and economy on the one hand and religion, the soul and ethics--or piety and the fear of God--on the other hand in the personal and collective dealings and transactions in life.

There are those who speak now about the economic teachings brought by Islam as an independent and self-sufficient economic system which has scientific hypotheses, equations and conclusions emanating from within this system and leading to the formation of a complete economic theory on production and its factors, consumption and its patterns, investment and its principles, currency and its substitutes and the various types of markets with their demand and lack of demand, depending on the commercial cycle, and so forth.

On the other side of the economic sphere we find some who have their reservations and who are apprehensive "for the Islamic teachings and for the application of the state of the venerable prophet and of his companions, for its limitation in time and for its pure and tolerant dealings and experiences" from the tens of uprisings resulting from the revolutionary calls and from the pitfalls of crude, unstudied and unprepared experiments. Those who are apprehensive want the zealous advocates or the revolutionary Muslims to restrain their theorization escapades so that the arrows may not ricochet and so that failure of the experimental practices may not be considered a fundamental part of the sound Islamic teachings and principles in the world of finances and commerce. Among the apprehensive, there are those who pose the specific question:

Does Islam have a scientific economic "theory" or a complete economic system? While asking their question, these people do not ask the question with prejudice and do not condemn because prejudice and condemnation do not occur to their mind here. They ask because they are apprehensive and because they fear for Islam itself from the mistakes and flights of men. This is why they believe that, so far, the matter does not go beyond the presence of numerous teachings--commands and prohibitions--pertaining to the world of economy, and perhaps to the familiar economic science and theories, in the crux of the Islamic faith. They undoubtedly find here and there--both in the venerable Koran and the Sunna--a lot about the alms tax, inheritance, ownership, loans, usury, selling, rents, work, wages, taxes and so forth. Even though these people acknowledge that Islam is a religion (worship) and a state (life and transactions) that are of importance to both the individual and the society, they still believe that economic transactions--as recognized in financial dealings--in Islam are, as defined and governed by this religion in the era of the "state of Medina" and of the venerable companions of the profit, simple transactions and even primitive transactions, in the absolute and not cynical sense of the word, as compared to the transactions of the modern age. This is a truth. The modern age transactions involve given facts that neither the "state of Medina" nor the era of the venerable companions could have withstood. We mean by these given facts the current banking systems (with their loans, investments and local and international financial, commercial and monetary activities), the various kinds of insurance systems, the multi-national companies, the stock markets and the international and regional financing establishments.

Those who cite this argument do not close the door of legal interpretation [al-ijtihad] and they do not deny the right of interpretation to those who are adequately qualified. In this sphere--the Islamic economy as advocated

by some people--those who engaged in interpretation must certainly have a proper scientific plan. What we mean is that the economists found in the Islamic Arab countries at present do not understand a lot of the principles of the Islamic Shari'a and the Shari'a jurists know nothing about the science of economy. Therefore, interpretation tied to well-known qualifying conditions is almost non-existent in these cases. Consequently, many cling to the prophet's well-known Hadith about (pollinating date palms) when he told his companions "you know your worldly affairs better" and his Hadith about the need for man to resort to his heart when things become difficult for him to understand. Those who advocate this opinion are not trying, of course, to find a justification for the current immersion in the purely materialistic economy--both eastern and western--as much as they are trying to disseminate vigilant and qualified interpretation according to the well-known conditions of interpretation in the Islamic Shari'a, along with complete knowledge of the economic science of the age, so as to eliminate the current schism between the ulema of Islam and the scientists of modern economy in studies, in understanding, in common dialogue and in the traditionalists' understanding of the given economic facts of the age and the understanding of the modernists of the rules of the Islamic Shari'a. When this is accomplished, the dialogue and the interpretation will succeed in producing frameworks for the Islamic teachings in the sphere of business, commerce and finance and in all that we have just mentioned--framework that offer solutions to many of the problems of what is permissible and what is proscribed in today's economic practice and that crystallize these solutions in a "system" with all its diverse theories.

What brings all this to mind is the economic-jurisprudential argument that erupted in the lobbies of the Islamic Development Bank in Jiddah regarding the depositing of the bank's funds in the Saudi Arab Monetary Establishment which in turn deposits its monies in Arab [sic] banks that deal in interest and in what is proscribed. This argument brought up the big and complex question: Should the Islamic Bank collect interest for its deposits in the western [sic] banks or should it leave these deposits for the western financial circles, which are often hostile to the Arabs and the Muslims, to reap the benefit of these deposits?

There was preplexity and the argument went on for a long time. We have heard that someone came up with the legal opinion that the interest for these funds that are deposited in the western banks should be collected and spent for the benefit of the poor Muslim societies. There have also been those who have advocated that this interest be left alone because it is proscribed and there have been those who have condemned, on the basis of the Shari'a, the depositing of these monies in western banks altogether. The question regarding the solution is still pending, especially since the revenues of the interest of these deposits amount to hundreds of millions of dollars. Many are still waiting to learn what solution has been reached.

There are other similar conditions, such as the problem of savers in the new Islamic banks established in Kuwait, Dubai, Sudan and other places. Some of the theoreticians of these banks have suggested that the savers be given

saving awards as incentives and as a substitute to the well-known interest paid by the non-Islamic banks, or usury. Many have objected that this is nothing but usury wrapped in "cellophane sheets" and called incentives. These people have asked the Legal Control Organization supervising the work of these banks to make sure that these "innovations" or "legal opinions" are sound in Islamic terms before they are applied to the savings of Muslims (See article by Dr Rafiq al-Misri in AL-AMAN magazine).

Another issue is that of insuring the properties and goods of the Islamic banks. It is well known that insurance with the existing insurance companies is proscribed by the Shari'a. We have learned that the Islamic banks have been able to overcome this problem by setting up their own insurance companies to insure their properties and goods on the Islamic bases that permit cooperative insurance that does not permit the usurpation of people's monies falsely. The system of the Islamic cooperative insurance companies is a beneficial system for insurance policy holders in all its aspects. However, the problem that has faced the Islamic banks once again is the fact that insurance needs reinsurance, naturally, in commercial and economic activities. These banks have been compelled to resort to the reinsurance companies--Lloyd's and its sisters--on the strength of argument that necessities permit the prohibited. This raises arguments and calls for caution on the part of those involved because of the serious nature of such dealings, especially since most of those who deal in the prohibited interest cite the same argument of "necessity." So, how can these two types of transactions be reconciled?

These are samples of the nature of the new issues resulting naturally from the "application" of the Islamic teachings to the modern economy or from superimposing them hastily, zealously, and perhaps excessively, on the presence [sic] of an Islamic economic "system" whereas the matter requires the right atmosphere, gradual application and deliberate studies, made more profound by qualified and legitimate interpretation.

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AFGHANISTAN

AFGHAN CRISIS ANALYZED IN 'GOD, THE GOLD AND THE BLOOD'

Paris PARIS MATCH in French 30 May 80 pp 85-90

[Chapter by Jean Larteguy from his book "God, the Gold and the Blood," published by Presses de la Cite (City Press)]

[Text] The coup in Kabul has often been represented as a stage in a vast Soviet plan to push toward the warm seas and the Persian Gulf (Peter the Great thought of it first). What Jean Larteguy reveals in one of the chapters in his book "God, the Gold and the Blood" (City Press), which we are reprinting here, proves that in reality the Red Army, maddened by the massacre of its advisers, committed its troops in Afghanistan to force the hand of Brezhnev, in a way. Moral: that there is a Russian plan for expansion toward the south is entirely certain. That the Kabul coup did not occur under the conditions and at the date planned is certain as well.

I did not know Afghanistan. I had only crossed it a very long time before. I remember a frontier post with a cluster of trucks, caravans of hairy camels, thin faces, bushy beards, suspicious customs agents for whose approving whim one must wait indefinitely, and then a desert swept by winds which raised an ochre dust. This was, I was told, the "120-day wind."

The British embassy was celebrating the first year in which no diplomat had been assassinated.

With nostalgia for the Khyber Pass of the "Three Bengal Lancers," and Kipling's novels, a few elderly gentlemen toasted these memories. And packed their bags.

With India independent now, England no longer had any interest in remaining in this borderland of an empire which had ceased to exist.

"The Russians will replace us," one of them said. "They have been dying to do so for so long. I wish them joy of it. In this damnable country there

is nothing to be gained but blows. Whatever we said, whatever we did, we remained Kafirs, infidels. The Afghans cannot reach agreement among themselves except at our expense, and they do not know where their frontiers are. These vagabonds who think they are the only true Moslems in Islam are prouder than the Spanish nobles. They push the sense of honor and the cult of virility to the point of madness. Isolated for centuries in their mountain citadels, or wandering the icy steppes, they are still living in the Middle Ages. Yes indeed, I wish them joy of the Russians. And that they may lose as many feathers as we did."

A Rolls Royce and Bandits on Horseback

Helene Carrere d'Encausse told me:

"When the Russians speak of peace, it is not only a propaganda theme, for peace is a magic word linked with the oldest traditions. Russia is a land of invasions. The Russians are not invaders but the victims of invasions. I believe in the weight of history, whatever the regime may be." And when I interjected "But what about Afghanistan?" she answered: "Afghanistan has traditionally been a part of the Russian sphere of interest, and already in the days of the czars there was conflict with the British. This is an historic terrain for Russian deployment, and thus a phenomenon requiring separate analysis. Afghanistan has a common frontier with Russia and is a part of the area it defends."

Unfortunately, by the same token as Afghanistan, Iran too is a part of this "deployment terrain."

The British have suffered many setbacks in Afghanistan. In 1840, in the time of Queen Victoria, when the sun never set on her empire, an army of 23,000 British and Indians was totally destroyed there. There was only one survivor, the surgeon Brydon, who managed to reach the British fort in Djelalabad, his strength exhausted, to report the disaster. All had perished: men, women and children.

At that time the Russians controlled the North, all of Central Asia. The British established themselves in Peshawar and Afghanistan was abandoned to its internal quarrels. The terrible emir Abdurrahman made order prevail there in his own fashion. He had bandits hung along the roads in iron cages where they slowly starved or froze to death.

His successor, known as a bad Moslem, was assassinated. Amanullah, who came next, undertook to open up his country to progress. Mistrusting both the British and the Russians, he turned to the French and the Germans.

Won over to the mania for progress, like the Iranian Reza Khan, he hastened Westernization measures . . . and quadrupled taxes.

At odds with the tribes and the all-powerful mullahs, Amanullah had to flee in his beautiful Rolls Royce, pursued by the horsemen of Batch-Sakao, a bandit and son of a water carrier who proclaimed himself king.

Nadir, one of Amanullah's cousins, took Kabul with the aid of tribes to which he had made wild promises. He had Batch-Sakao shot and became shah. He was to be assassinated.

Zahir Shah, his son, succeeded him. He was a cautious and efficient man who turned the power over to his uncle, and then to his cousin and brother-in-law, Prince Daud.

Daud, on bad terms with Pakistan, with which the United States was allied, established links with the USSR and in 1955 he welcomed Khrushchev to Kabul. The Russians spread out through the country, building roads and even mosques, but they compensated themselves by claiming rights to all the gas deposits in Afghan Turkestan.

Worried about the ever-greater dependence of Afghanistan on the USSR, King Zahir emerged from his passivity, ousted Daud and took the government in hand. He effected a reconciliation with Pakistan and the United States and then, in the midst of a famine, went to take the waters at a spa in Italy.

Aided by the army headed by Soviet advisers, Prince Daud overthrew the regime and seized power. This was to be the end of Western and American influence. It had lasted 10 years.

A General's Body Mutilated by Machine-Gun Fire

Daud proclaimed a republic. His fate was to be massacre, along with 1,200 members of his powerful family, for daring to make contact with the West to avoid being left alone against the Russians. There was little talk of it in the West. A mere palace revolution!

A proverb which might be Afghan says that if one is to dine with the devil, he should have a long spoon. Daud's was not long enough.

Afghanistan has 10 to 12 million inhabitants, of whom 2 million are nomads. They are Tadzhiks, Pashtuns and Hazaras, the descendants of the hordes of Genghis Khan. The terrain is extremely rugged and lends itself to ambush.

On 25 December 1979, in the uncomfortable old palace of the old kings of Afghanistan, now a fortress on the outskirts of Kabul, a high-ranking Soviet minister and general, Victor Paputin, was shot dead in the middle of the night. His body was cut in two by a burst from a Kalashnikov weapon in the hands of one of the bodyguards of Hafizullah Amin, head of the popular republic and secretary general of the Afghan Communist Party.

For 10 years Afghanistan had been in the Soviet sphere. Iran would soon be incorporated if patience could be exercised, and it would be. Saudi Arabia, the emirates on the Gulf and their riches were within reach. Their deposits could be sabotaged at any time by the People's Liberation Front headed by Georges Habache, who was controlled by the KGB.

On the other side of the world, armed, equipped and advised by the Red Army, Vietnam digested its conquests--Laos and Kampuchea. Despite Chinese warnings, pro-Vietnamese guerrilla fighters were infiltrating Thailand.

The missiles and armored divisions of the Warsaw Pact had Europe by the throat, a Europe already threatened in Africa where it was in danger of seeing its supplies of raw materials cut off, and in the Middle East where its oil was threatened. Missile-launching cruisers, Russian nuclear submarines and spy planes, from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean, from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, like a vast game of prisoner's base, in which each vessel of the United States and its allies was marked. The Kremlin diplomats were speaking out loudly. The chiefs of aligned communist parties, like Marchais, adopted the mannerisms of gauleiters. President Carter was suffering the pangs of his good conscience, and electoral problems. In Tehran, a gang of pseudostudents, as a condition for the release of the hostages they held, demanded that he beat his breast and admit his crimes. They all but asked that he present himself to them, neck bared and the rope around his neck, like the bourgeois of Calais, of whose sad fate they were fortunately ignorant.

Crowded Prisons Emptied at Night

PRAVDA lectured him like a naive and bumbling child. After his ears had been properly boxed, detente and the signing of the SALT II agreement, which would serve Soviet interests above all, were dangled before him as a lure. But he was forbidden to give NATO the medium-range Pershing missiles abundantly available to the troops of the Warsaw Pact.

Worried and in the midst of an economic crisis, free Europe was ready for any sacrifice, any concession if only it could be guaranteed, promised some years of peace. The only politician who showed evidence of character was a woman, Mrs Thatcher, who wondered if it was not in England's interests to keep its distance from a fragmented, hesitant Europe uncertain in its diplomacy, and to remain an island under the American umbrella.

The fluctuating policy of Giscard d'Estaing reflected his electoral concerns.

Overnight, because of the damnable Afghans and their intractable nature, the conqueror was to find himself in the position of a supplicant. His formidable army caught in a hornets' nest, Brezhnev sought the understanding of Carter and asked the Europeans to persuade the American president of his good faith and his peaceful intentions. This was no longer the America of Watergate. The slap dealt in Tehran caused it to forget its Vietnam complex.

The leaders in Hanoi, thanks to their pride, their blunderings, their contempt for the rights of peoples, their savage triumphs and their death camps, had contributed greatly to this healing. After the assassination of Daud and the massacre of his family, the Russians had installed in power a sectarian and narrow-minded teacher, Taraki, a true Marxist-Leninist trained in the cadre schools of the party.

He was the secretary general of one of the two rump communist parties, the Parcham, and he was controlled through his rival, Hafizullah Amin, who was the motive force of the Khalq. The Soviet spiritual fathers of these parties were not unaware that Afghan nationalism could at any time prevail over the deepest Marxist faith, and that it was wise to take precautions. Taraki no longer knew anything about his own country. By his brutal reforms, his contempt for Islam, his failure to understand the Afghan people, his massive executions of opponents, he aroused the entire country against him in just a few months. The Russians bore this unpopularity, which went against their secret plans, with bad grace. They wanted to make of the Afghanistan borderland a Soviet republic like Outer Mongolia. Whatever they may say today, they let his rival, the impetuous Amin, cut Taraki's throat. Hafizullah Amin was an ambitious man, a Stalinist, the type of man needed in difficult times. One could count on him to accomplish certain tasks, provided he were kept firmly on a leash, if only to get rid of him later by making him, the new scapegoat, responsible for all the world's sins.

Amin began to be a cause for worry when he liquidated not just religious opponents, but supporters of Taraki, by the tens of thousands, installing those faithful to him everywhere.

The crowded prisons were emptied at night. Prisoners went directly from the cells to the firing squad without even a pause for a few minutes before a people's court. On this subject we have the testimony of a high Afghan official who, for understandable reasons, prefers to remain anonymous. He says that at the Foul I Shaki prison, inmates spent almost no time at all. "They were summoned as of nightfall. A noncommissioned officer tied their hands behind their backs and they were taken outside the prison, under the supervision of two Soviet advisers. The deed was done by a platoon made up entirely of noncommissioned and commissioned officers. The men were shot in front of a ditch dug that very morning by a bulldozer, which then covered the bodies and filled the hole, using its spotlight." (Francois Missen, "Le Kabul Syndrome," Edisud.)

If one is to believe Mr Marchais, whose sources are good, the "traitorous comrade" Amin had 150,000 Afghans who were "partisans of peace and democracy" executed. Thus there must be no more communists in Afghanistan, where there were several thousand of them. One wonders what role the Red Army played in this. And who asked it to come, for it could not have been Amin.

No More Communists in Afghanistan

As his Soviet "friends" reproached Amin for excessively expeditious methods, he recalled the precedents of Lenin and Stalin, who had first of all purged the party and the army the better to deal with the counterrevolution.

It was barely possible to rescue a certain Babrak Karmal from his talons. A good plain communist, industrious and a rather brave man, it was thought that he might yet serve as an alternate card. He was not possessed by a fierce atheism, like Taraki and Amin. He would be told to say his prayers and the Afghan mullahs would be satisfied. The Russians nonetheless took their precautions. To safeguard Amin against any temptation and to warn Washington that henceforth Afghanistan was the private preserve of the Soviets, "unruly elements" assassinated the American ambassador, Adolph Duba, in February of 1979. Under the approving eye of a KGB colonel who, unfortunately, was a bit too visible in the course of the operation. Which displeased the State Department, resigned though it was to seeing Afghanistan slide into the Soviet orbit. Amin learned his lesson, but not as the Soviets saw it. If he wanted to save his skin he would have to act fast. In order to show that he was not uninvolved in this murder, he sent a personal message to President Carter to convey to him his "profound regret." He packed the Afghan delegation to the United Nations with his men. Through them, he made contact discreetly not only with the Americans but with the moderate Moslem countries on whom he had his eye. Finally, through his brother Abdallah Amin, who is pro-Chinese, he entered into discussions with the agents of Peking, who were providing support to a guerrilla force operating on the short Sino-Afghan frontier, the Shula Yi Jowed.

Amin made no mystery of his plan. He proposed to expel all the Soviet advisers and to ask the Americans and the Chinese, the Yugoslavs, the Arab countries and the UN to guarantee Afghan neutrality.

Amin is a true communist as savage as Emir Abdurrahman. He is not an agent of the CIA or of the Chinese revisionists, as we are asked to believe today. Once rid of the Russians, whose presence was becoming ever more unpopular, and having reached agreement with certain rebel movements against others--and they were much fragmented--he hoped to create in Afghanistan a sort of hereditary, family and absolute communist monarchy, such as that in Albania with Enver Hoxha, and in North Korea with Kim Il-sung. Kim Il-sung and Hoxha were his models more than Tito, whose luxurious lifestyle was more like that of a monarch.

His tool would be the Afghan army, which he strengthened and provided with modern weapons supplied by the Russians. A part of these weapons disappeared into the neighboring mountains, where the rebellious Moslems determined to be left alone came and went.

Proud of Their Warrior Past

In November of 1979, relations between Soviet Ambassador Pusanov and Amin reached such a tense point that they engaged in insults and threats. Amin demanded that the ambassador be recalled. Obstinate, vain and impulsive, very Afghan in this regard, he went on at length about how the Soviets needed him more than he needed them.

At the same time, he was planning a general army rebellion. As an extra precaution, he had weapons distributed to "militia" forces loyal to him. These were the bands whose ideology was limited to "chasing out the Russians" and hacking the "kafir," or infidel, to bits. Duly warned, the Soviet government sent one of its most eminent representatives, not only an army general but also a high KGB official and first vice minister of internal affairs, Viktor Paputin.

Officially, his mission was to straighten out Amin's thinking. But as there were no longer many illusions about this individual, he dropped all pretense. He organized a counter-putsch much as one organizes counter-fire, within an Afghan army of 100,000 men which 6,000 Soviet military advisers kept well in hand. At least so they believed.

Now relations were very bad between the Soviet military, with their iron discipline in the Prussian style, and the traditionally undisciplined Afghans, proud of their past record as indomitable warriors. As to their "political awareness," it was nil. Getting Marx into an Afghan head poses insurmountable problems.

When Amin learned of the arrival of Viktor Paputin and his assignment, he decided to cross the Rubicon. Since it was no longer possible to expel the Soviet advisers, he had them eliminated in a bloody St Bartholomew's massacre. The muezzins' call to murder replaced the striking of the hour.

Did Viktor Paputin, general, minister, important party member and KGB official, believe his person sacrosanct, as the Roman citizens, whose status was a passport everywhere, once were? He took his chances in Amin's fortified redoubt, and was struck down. At that same moment, Amin launched a general uprising and proclaimed a curfew to allow his troops to operate. Had he received assurances from the Americans and the Chinese? It appears that, without really discouraging him, they mistrusted this Pol Pot in power.

On the night of 26 December, a certain number of Soviet officers serving as advisers were massacred in a horrible way, in some cases with their families, in Kabul. It was to be worse still in the distant garrisons, where the Russians were not numerous enough to rally together and defend themselves--in Herat, in Kandahar, and among the units in the field. The figure of 1,000 dead has been suggested. The exact number will never be known. The Red Army had to act on the spot at the risk of losing its

reputation, it being reduced to the same rank as the bourgeoisie states which had abandoned their soldiers and their diplomats. A powerful and organized caste, it places its safety, that of its members and their "honor" above the imperatives of major policy. In the confusion prevailing on the top party levels, it had become the leading power in the USSR.

"The army," explained Helene Carrere d'Encausse, "became a closed circle which recruits from its own ranks and is self-perpetuating. The military career is handed down from father to son. The military marry into military families, and the children go to the same schools. It is more than an army of tradition.

"The Red Army in which the cadres enjoy all sorts of privileges constitutes a closed and protected world.

"In Stalin's day, the military paid for their privileges by total subordination to the political power. In 1979, during a period of great international tension, at a time when it was engaged in foreign theatres of operation, it became an element in political decisions. It has weight in the choices, and is tending to become, in the U.S. manner, a Pentagon which has a free hand with the civilian population. The army enjoys even greater weight--it presents a more serious threat to the apparatus, particularly since the problem of who will succeed Brezhnev is not settled. The army is the military but it is also the heavy industry which works for it, a whole major complex, a whole military and industrial complex whose choices have priority over the other industries."

Parties Replaced by Cliques

This army, without consulting the civil authorities, took immediate action. The need was urgent and it is known how long it takes the Kremlin to make decisions. With Brezhnev sick and "useful" 2 hours a day, the Soviets turned again to a kind of collective leadership.

All the troops available on the periphery of Afghanistan, "Asiatic" units made up mainly of Tadzhik, Uzbek and Turkmen soldiers, were also sent by the tens of thousands to prevent the massacre from spreading and to save the advisers' families.

Hafizullah Amin, in his fortified palace, sought with his supporters to the last cartridge. He was overwhelmed by the bombing planes, the artillery mortars. There were no survivors. He lived and died like a wolf, Afghan above all.

The leaders of Soviet Russia, because of internal problems--who would succeed Brezhnev--thus found themselves reduced to the same "electoral" expedients as the American president. Only the parties were replaced by cliques, and public opinion by what the Red Army thought.

And in a self-respecting traditional army, it is the officers who think.

On Saturday, 29 December, Radio Kabul announced that order prevailed in the capital, that the rest of the country was totally calm and that the army was in full control of the situation.

With 25,000 Soviet soldiers patrolling Kabul, what army was involved? As to the prevailing calm, there was no one any longer unaware that except for some towns, the country had been beyond government control for months.

Then they brought out Babrak Karmal, who had been on Taraki's team. He was of a princely family, like poor Daud, but a strict follower of Marxism. A puppet. Again he became secretary general of the communist party of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Party, of which little remained after the two factions, the Khalq and the Parcham, were massacred, supreme commander of an army of which half had deserted while the other half rebelled, chief of state in a nation which had ceased to exist, and president of a revolutionary council which had just been invented. The resistance did not allow itself to be deceived, denouncing Karmal for what he was--a "direct agent and mercenary of the Soviet Union."

Carter's Hawkish Cries

Even before the new chief of state was installed, just as he was landing in an Antonov aircraft thanks to the Soviet airlift, Leonid Brezhnev wished him "great success in his multiple activities in the service of the friendly Afghan people, that people capable of defending the conquests of the revolution, the sovereignty, independence and national dignity of the new Afghanistan."

It would have been hard to push the farce further. Babrak Karmal, a new Ubu in the Afghan fashion, was to go one better. As soon as he was in office, he pointed out his devotion to the sacred religion of Islam and immediately proclaimed a holy war, Jihad, against the enemy--90 percent of the Afghan people rising against communism in the name of Islam of the purest and most intransigent sort, and led by their mullahs!

In this massive intervention, the Soviets took enormous risks--loss of the benefits of a policy of expansion pursued with great mastery, according to a principle earlier dear to John Foster Dulles, using the carrot and the stick. With, to top it all, this fine old Marxist-Leninist ideology, broken down in simplistic slogans for Third-World use. But they could not act otherwise, and the military had made their decision.

In that Christmas 1979 season, everything advised against such intervention. A recent survey had revealed that the Americans, awakened from their apathy, were ready to accept the risk of war. Carter, in the midst of an electoral campaign, could not be insensitive to this change in the atmosphere.

Abandoning his image as a dove, he had already emitted some sharp hawkish cries. It meant taking on the Moslem world, destroying the Iranian advantage, and reawakening opposition in the Moslem republics of the USSR.

To prevent Iran from slipping into the American camp, the Russians had to take their precautions: those Islamic "students" whom they had controlled secretly since training them in West Beirut and who opposed the release of the hostages in Tehran.

The economic situation in Russia was catastrophic. Brezhnev himself had just admitted this. Forty percent of the national product was being absorbed by the manufacture of weapons, the maintenance of the expeditionary corps engaged in distant colonial ventures, and the liberation movements which sometimes burned themselves out.

Even a Cuban soldier sent to Africa had to be fed and paid.

Tired of working for a paradise which they could not see approaching, the Soviets abandoned themselves to frenetic absenteeism, negligence, black marketing and alcoholism. Even the best-maintained sectors such as transportation, the railroads, were going downhill.

Plants shut down, others were functioning at only 30 percent capacity. The only exceptions were the army and the industrial sectors it controlled directly, and which absorbed all of the skilled manpower and essential raw materials. Added to this, an unprecedented farm deficit developed. The USSR had to purchase 40 million tons of wheat that year, which could only be supplied to it by America, Canada and Western Europe.

A popular dissatisfaction which was in no way ideological was openly manifested. Its source lay in the dearth not only of consumer goods, but of essential supplies as well. Meat could no longer be found. Supplies of vegetables had to be obtained from the black market, where prices had doubled. The "far-off wars" were blamed.

The intellectuals, the performers, all of those whom the regime was stifling and who were challenging the elite in power, had given Russia a hateful image which only the "believers" still rejected.

Finally, the satellites, with the exception of Bulgaria, which had practically become a Soviet republic, and Cuba, were showing ever-increasing reluctance to go along in servile fashion with the USSR and to follow it in its African or Asiatic ventures.

It was within this unfavorable context that the Afghan intervention was undertaken, at the demand of the military, to whom the "civilians" in the Central Committee could only bow, knowing what they risked losing.

However it was hoped in the Kremlin, and the marshals had promised, that it would all be settled in 8 days.

Low-Level Conscripts

One can imagine the scene. Reassured, after having sent Brezhnev off to bed, for he was badly fatigued, the leaders of the Central Committee proposed a toast: "To Peter the Great, our genial guide and master. May he rejoice in his grave. We have honored his legacy. Our cossacks are maintaining order in Warsaw . . . Beg pardon, the tanks and helicopters of our valiant Red Army have reestablished democratic legality in Kabul."

But this improvised intervention developed badly. It was only possible to mobilize a single elite division in time--the parachute troops dropped on Kabul, less than 10,000 men.

The other troops in the area were units recruited from the Asian republics, conscripts and draftees who proved to be less than brilliant soldiers. They provided proof before all of the journalistic and other commentators gathered in Kabul. They had poor command of the equipment they were using, in particular tanks. Their liaison work was bad, their electronic mastery inadequate, and their air-ground coordination poor.

They had no idea of what they had come to Afghanistan to do. The Turkmen, Uzbek and Tadzhik troops speak the dialects of the Afghans. They feel a moderate solidarity with the European Russians, but are closer to these Moslems they were supposed to fight. Some deserted.

As soon as it was possible, the Soviet command replaced them with better-equipped, better-trained troops, taken from the Warsaw Pact reserves. It cleared out the foreign journalists. But meanwhile the rebellion had been swelled by 60,000 deserters from the Afghan army, who had come over with their weapons and baggage. The remaining 40,000 were stripped of their weapons and confined to their barracks, with Soviet guns trained on them.

Later, when they were sent into operation, the Soviets would be behind them, ready to make them the targets in order to block any temptation to flee or to turn against them. Nothing was settled either in a week or in a month. The Soviet general staff had to settle for reduced capacity. If the Americans supplied the rebels with small individual ground-air or air-ground type Sam or Milan or Crotal missiles, they would suffer horrible casualties. They could no longer supply the troops by air. Their helicopters and their transport aircraft would be shot down like chickens; their tanks would be exploded by mines or would burn in the Hindu-Kush mountain passes. They would lose equipment and men. It was necessary at all costs to ensure that Carter abandoned the Afghan resistance or the Red Army would be engulfed for years in an interminable war.

Sagging Soviet Capacity

The Soviet advisers were increasingly unwelcome. The image of the "ugly American" was replaced by that of the ugly Russian. They were shot at in Syria. The Guardians of the Revolution, whose officers are Palestinians, had to intervene to prevent the occupation of the Soviet embassy in Tehran. Without their troops, without their secret police bolstered by East Germans with fine Nazi features, they would have been chased out of Africa.

They could only supply weapons, guns and tanks which proved on use to be of poor quality. Only their military advisers proved valuable. In the realm of the economy or agriculture, the experts from the East proved a disaster. They supplied neither the grain nor the seed so badly needed, but only a mistaken method of using them, and no complete medical team.

Wherever the red flag flies in the world, even in the countries which formerly largely met their own food needs, there are lines outside empty stores and the people are dying of hunger. In Afghanistan, the formidable Red Army not only cannot subdue the bands of poorly armed rebels but is suffering reverses, revealing its human and technical weaknesses. To excuse them, the Soviet Union accuses foreign forces--the Chinese or the Americans, who, happily for them, have not really become involved. The astounded world wonders if it was not duped, if the Red Army is truly that invulnerable force of which they are sick and tired of hearing. The Soviet soldiers with their shaved heads, despite their indoctrination and their three years of compulsory service, are dragging their feet, as ours did in Algeria. They are not keen on spilling their blood in Afghanistan.

The Soviet army is supplied with costly, impressive equipment which has its effect in parades but which is outdated, badly finished, infinitely less sturdy than is claimed. It is above all adapted to broad cavalry deployments in the steppes. It is not designed to stand up against modern weaponry. Missiles which cost only \$1,000 apiece and which can be used by any guerrilla fighter after a half-day's practice, and which can be carried by a single man over difficult terrain, transform the 40-ton T72 tank, said to be the most modern in the world, a MIG 27, the armored attack helicopter and the big Antonov into smoking metal. This equipment, on top of it all, requires gun crews, pilots, and drivers whose training is lengthy and excessively costly. All of the great names in Soviet diplomacy were mobilized to come to the aid of the army, the pride of the regime, so that it would not lose its reputation and its prestige in the passes of Afghanistan, which would mean the end of Soviet ambitions. It was Dobrynin who was sent to Washington, before Gromyko, and Chernovenko to Paris and Lunkov to London. In connection with the Olympic Games, an effort was made to set the Europeans and Americans one against the other. The tone has changed greatly. In order to "save detente," they say, they propose the neutralization of Afghanistan. What do they ask in exchange? No rockets, no individual missiles for the Afghan rebels. The rest is diplomatic verbiage and

vague promises. How could it be otherwise, since we know that the Russians would never allow Afghanistan, any more than they would Hungary, Poland or Czechoslovakia, to move out of their zone of influence.

The Soviets are condemned to win in Afghanistan, where the credibility of their army and their world policy is at stake. They must carry through to the end, taking all the risks even if it means exterminating the Afghan people. Already they are using napalm, and, in contempt of all international agreements, asphyxiating gases, as in Laos.

What will Carter do?

Nixon made this terrible judgment of him:

"Someone said that Mr Carter is a newly converted hawk. Well, we are all familiar with these religious revivals during which the village drunkard prostrates himself in the dust and claims to be born again. The next morning he is drinking again."

Probing the Wound

One can imagine what Nixon would do in Carter's place. He would probe mercilessly in the Soviet wound, and make the Kremlin pay for Vietnam. Then he would negotiate on his conditions, and they would be harsh.

Will President Carter profit from the opportunity to restore order in this part of the world, to put an end to any sharing of the costs by Iran and Afghanistan?

The USSR hoped to win a world empire, at least to carve for itself the leading place, without ever having recourse to total war, because it would lose it, which neither the Russian people nor the old men in the Kremlin want. Their strategists relied on their competence to win the game by taking the opponent's pawns one after the other, to force him imperceptibly toward defeat, without ever making a direct attack on the key pieces, which would have led to the atomic cataclysm.

On that night of 26 December 1979, in a mediocre settlement of accounts, Russia had to come out in the open and everything was laid open to challenge. Sweeping the board with the back of its hand, destiny proved that it remains the supreme master of the game, for it was subject to no rules, much less any ideology.

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PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, RESOLUTIONS AT 7th NATIONAL UGTA MEETING

Report on Bendjedid's Speech

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 3 Jun 80 p 1

[Article by Kamel Belkacem; passages in slantlines are in boldface in the text]

[Text] Judging by the sustained applause and several ovations given President Chadli by the participants at the 7th national council of the UGTA [General Union of Algerian Workers]--some presidents of the ATE [Enterprise Workers Assembly] had also been invited for the occasion--the FLN general secretary made a great impression in his speech on the major current national and international issues at the House of the People yesterday.

The president of the Republic's political message to the representatives of the working masses also concerned all the vital forces of the nation; it was well understood and its words were expected by the workers' elected representatives at a time when the socialist revolution is going through a crucial stage in its existence.

The UGTA general secretary had already set the tone by telling the president of the Republic that his militant action in favor of the National Charter had the total support of the workers united in their union organization, that the workers had just debated the 5-year plan in complete freedom and democracy, and that they would mobilize behind the FLN to achieve the plan's objectives and also to make new social conquests.

The 7th national council of the UGTA roundly acclaimed the president of the Republic, who spoke directly to the heart of the matter in language that the workers, farmers, youth wanted to hear, all revolutionary patriots who have unshakable faith in the country's leadership and who wish to express their absolute faithfulness to the principles of the November revolution and the ideals of the FLN, principles and ideals that are to be bequeathed to future generations and that are to be ennobled by the examples of their elders, by patriotic spirit, and by the democratic methods that the National Charter means to instill in the country to build socialism.

/"I wanted to talk to you directly about the issues and problems facing the country, about our will to work for the real aspirations of the masses and to solve the workers' problems,"/ the president of the Republic declared,.

He placed this meeting in the framework of democratic dialogue on the 5-year plan as well as in the more immediate context of the special FLN congress where events recently took place that concern the people and particularly the country's patriotic forces.

The head of state recalled the 4th FLN congress and its political objectives of social justice, especially the prospects for recovery in certain sectors of the economy by real mastery of the means of production and management, and by working against disparities among the working masses, mainly in the public enterprises. The principle of decentralization could have no effect without actual economic and administrative decentralization that would put an end to bureaucratic restrictions and give exceptional impetus to an initiative that must be able to place greater confidence in Algerian management / (loud acclaim throughout the hall) /. We must free ourselves from foreign dependency and be consistent with our options.

The National Charter shows us the way, the FLN gives us the framework for action, and democratic and responsible dialogue within institutions is the method. Enough time has been wasted, and those who have been waiting for a Messiah should give up their illusions once and for all / (standing applause for the president) /; those who have been waiting for a change of direction are wrong. Very humbly but firmly the president reminded the audience that he had promised the FLN congress and the people that he would guarantee the application of the National Charter in its entirety as a plan for building socialism, insuring that revolutionary options would have the conditions necessary for strengthening and extending them, and finally insuring the success of the socialist revolution.

The independence to fulfill and fully affirm our national character is to be achieved through political, economic, and cultural / non-dependence /. Be Algerian above all, without falling into narrow sectarian viewpoints, the president said, and he deplored the / ideological mimicry / of groups or individuals who are attempting to spread among the people models of thought that are foreign to the choices open under the National Charter.

/"Algeria will be nobody's satellite!"/the president of the Republic declared in substance / (interrupted by sustained applause) /. He analyzed recent events that took place in certain universities as being the result of agitation intended to confiscate or call into question the national revolutionary process. President Chadli clearly reprooved recent extremist demonstrations aimed at causing disunion in the ranks through agitation and violence. /Tolerance does not mean weakness,/ the president warned. If these events continue, he does not exclude the possibility of resorting to measures appropriate to putting an end to them and sheltering the masses from the anarchy and plots that some people are weaving in order to strike the Algerian revolution. The president told the workers: /"Remember 24 February 1971 when we took control of our wealth. They said our oil was red. They made trouble for us inside and outside the country. Now that we want to realize the value

of our resources/(natural gas)/, they are inveighing against Algeria for exerting its weight on the international scene and playing a part in mobilizing the Third World and Arab world liberation movement (applause). Now that Algeria is determined to restore and develop its national culture and affirm its Algerian character, some people are trying here and there to provoke some marginal centers of discontent in order to sidetrack us."/

The head of state emphasized the close link between national character and the people's cultural heritage, which belongs to all the people. He also emphasized the progressive and socialist content of Islam, which one of the extremist groups claims to represent. The president reiterated that we have nothing to learn from anybody and that Algeria's history and Arab-Moslem character constitute the crucible for giving full expression to the national character /(cheers in the hall)/; a colleague noted later that "Chadli's strength and presence are due to his common sense and moderation." "A lesson in modesty," said another, who had been struck by the president's remarks on the revolution's achievements, which he had pledged to continue. The head of state expressed his complete confidence in the majority of youth and the university community, who are not represented by the slogans and plans of the extremists. He especially emphasized that the workers, farmers, and youth need to be vigilant in rising to meet their responsibilities in protecting socialist achievements and national unity in its broadest sense. /"Democracy, yes, but responsible democracy,"/ the president said. He told the forces active in the country to avoid the traps of agitation and disorder.

/"Who will pay the price in the long run? That is something to consider, of course, to get a better perspective on the events taking place on the eve of the FLN congress, at a time when the natural evolution of the revolutionary process requires new means of action, a clear position in favor of the Charter, and the abandonment of the privileges incompatible with the revolutionary principles of the Charter and the needs of the moment. The success of this revolutionary process is linked to success in the struggle for production and efficient management. Let us mobilize our strength to carry out the 5-year plan, which is the object of democratic public debate. This shall be the framework of discussion, which will enable us to find the answers and solutions adequate to the problems of our society and times."/

After the speech, the president was given a long ovation by the 7th national council of the UGTA and, hand in hand with the UGTA general secretary, President Chadli saluted the great moment of his meeting with the workers and nation.

Resolutions From UGTA Meeting

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 8 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by the APS: "Seventh National Council of the UGTA"; passages in slantlines are in boldface in the text]

[Text] The participants recommend the urgent application of the Central Committee's decisions on meeting national needs in consumer products. National volunteer day decreed 13 June for the agrarian revolution.

/The 7th national council of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA) met 2-5 June 1980 in Algiers (House of the People) and adopted the following general policy resolution:/

The 7th UGTA national council, meeting on 2-5 June 1980 at the House of the People, May Day Square, to evaluate the activities of the union movement and the socio-economic and cultural situation of the country in the context of preparing for the next 5-year plan, 1980-84:

Warmly salutes brother Chadli Bendjedid, FLN general secretary and president of the Republic for having answered the union office's invitation and presiding at the opening of the 7th national council. This shows the great interest and extreme importance he attaches to the UGTA and reaffirms his unwavering support for the working masses, who share with all the essential forces of the revolution in the country the responsibility for defending the revolution, its accomplishments, and its socialist options.

After hearing with interest the important opening speech by brother President Chadli Bendjedid, in which he reviewed the current national and international situations and analyzed the domestic problems affecting the people in general and the workers in particular:

Finds that the frankness of the brother president's speech has created an atmosphere of clarity that has aroused an enthusiastic response in the participants as an expression of the working masses' devotion to the socialist options inspired by the national charter that constitutes the ideology of the FLN.

The council meets in a special political situation marked by the hysteria of local reactionary forces allied with capitalism; these are striking out at the gains of the popular masses and the fundamental options of the country with the intention of instilling doubts about principles and causing disturbances for the purpose of maintaining their interests and accumulating wealth at the expense of the working masses.

The domestic situation of the country is marked by the total mobilization of the working masses about the accomplishments of the revolution, e.g. the agrarian revolution, the socialist management of business, free medical care, and the democratization of education. These accomplishments constitute the elements of conflict between the progressive, democratic forces on one hand and the enemies of the revolution and the people, on the other.

At the international level, the situation is characterized by the retreat of imperialism and its allies in the face of the advancing revolutionary forces, which has incited it to create centers of tension aimed at dominating national resources and instilling a climate of instability through the activity of multinational corporations, by strengthening its military presence in strategic regions of the world, or using its local instruments of domestic reaction.

After hearing the report of brother Demene Debbih Abdallah, a member of the Central Committee and general secretary of the UGTA, wherein he analyzed the present condition of the union movement, enumerated the accomplishments made since the 5th UGTA congress, and stressed the socio-economic and cultural issues of the country and the workers' concerns in the context of preparation for the next 5-year plan;

After hearing the exhaustive and lengthy report by brother Abdelhamid Brahimi, minister of Planning and Reclamation, wherein he addressed the socio-economic and cultural situation in the past decade and pointed out the means necessary for liberating our economy from dependence on foreign countries in application of the decisions of the 2nd session of the Central Committee;

After the wide-ranging debate participated in by the representatives of the communal, territorial, and governorate unions, as well as groups from the governorates, federations, and National Council;

After the reading of the recommendations of the 7th National Council and their adoption,

Considering the importance of the special congress of the National Liberation Front,

Considering the effective role and actual contribution of the working masses to the success of this congress, which will devote its efforts to the 5-year plan and the prospects for development in the next decade,

Considering the seriousness of the events recently caused in this country by elements hostile to the National Charter intending to spread disturbances and chaos and divide the masses,

The National Council of workers, fully aware of the present situation and of the necessity for the working masses' vigilance and mobilization to stand united and repel the depredations and maneuvering intended to hinder revolutionary progress,

The 7th National Council recommends:

The mobilization of workers for the success of the special FLN party congress;

The explanation and diffusion of the president's speech as a working document for the future activities of the union movement;

Enlarging and extending the concept of responsible revolutionary democracy within the structures of the organization;

Pursuing responsible dialogue between the workers' representatives and managers according to the president's guidelines and with the intent of seeking solutions to the problems that have been raised.

The participants in the work of the 7th National Council stress the necessity of applying the directions of brother Chadli Bendjedid concerning democratic dialogue and cooperation in solving the workers' social and cultural problems.

The National Council recommends that the workers and union leaders redouble their efforts to win the battle of production and management and urges them to be more vigilant to strengthen the gains of the socialist revolution and to work for the achievement of development objectives, which are an essential condition for raising the workers' standard of living.

The Council recommends that the union office make a greater effort to train workers by raising their political and ideological level in continued training.

The Council is gratified at the results of restructuring national corporations in the framework of applying the policy of decentralization to guarantee greater administrative capability and enable workers' assemblies to function better in mobilizing workers and in supervising them;

Warmly salutes the decisions to strengthen the buying power of the workers and improve their standard of living, and in this context we call for an earlier preparation of texts on applying the general workers' law;

/Recommends the urgent application--according to priority--of the party Central Committee decisions made at its 2nd and 3rd sessions bearing on meeting national needs by providing consumer products/;

Recommends installing effective and tight monitoring of the private sector so that it may play its role in the framework set forth in the National Charter;

Recommends unmasking the opportunist elements that are acquiring fortunes in the name of the revolution;

The provocations suffered by our emigre brothers and the pressure brought to bear on them by the French government, as well as plans for their collective expulsion, are a means of pressure that imperialism is applying to the Algerian revolution to make it waver from its positions and principles. That is why we strongly denounce the vicious campaign in the Western media against our emigres and the daily assaults upon them, which are the most revolting manifestations of repression and racism;

Recommends setting forth a rational national plan guaranteeing the gradual readaptation of our emigre brothers into national life;

Considering that planning is a weapon against imperialism and its multinational corporations;

Considering the integration of our economy into the international capitalist market has brought about its technical and technological mobilization and is opposed to the country's desire for economic independence as confirmed by the 4th party congress, the 2nd session of the Central Committee, and the speeches of President Chadli Bendjedid;

Considering that planning is not merely a technical operation but the expression of a political will intended to consolidate the economic framework of economic, social, and cultural development, we request:

The usage and diversification of our foreign trade as an effective means of fighting imperialist pressures. In this context, revision of our trade should take place in the framework of a strategy of gradual withdrawal from the capitalist market and replacing it with increased relations with the socialist countries;

The liquidation of the country's foreign debts by revising the foreign financial balance;

The democratic management of financial institutions and the liquidation of waste resulting from foreign debts that have not been used for the projects planned;

The consolidation of national savings by the democratic management of our production enterprises;

The participation of workers in supervising the plan at all levels, especially through the structures of the socialist management of businesses;

The application of the decisions of the party Central Committee to spread use of the national language.

Considering that the people's cultural heritage is an integral part of Algerian national character and one of its fundamental values, we request that it be revived and developed so as to bring out the aspects of our national popular heritage in its entirety and to work towards its enrichment, because it is the cultural dimension of the Algerian national character, as stated in the National Charter.

The National Council proclaims its determination to apply President Chadli Bendjedid's recommendations in order to participate in the success of the party's special congress and to take a revolutionary direction that will put into effect the aspirations of the masses and workers, especially in the progress of democracy.

In this connection we express our satisfaction with the democratic climate that has marked the preparation of the 5th congress. We ask that it be extended so that party members may emerge in the mass organizations and be able to take part in renewing the party's inner strength and extending revolutionary democracy to meet the needs of the present situation.

The National Council renews its confidence in the national secretariat in attempting to apply the recommendations of the 5th congress, defending the interests of the workers of the revolution.

The National Council affirms its support of /all ministers/ who have put into practice the policy of direct dialogue between the grassroots and the highest levels, and asks all officials and national and revolutionary management personnel to mobilize to consolidate this desire on the basis of socialist orientation and the National Charter.

/The National Council solemnly proclaims its mobilization behind President Chadli Bendjedid to achieve the objectives of the national development plan for the purpose of guaranteeing the political, economic, cultural, and social development of our people./

At the international level, the union's National Council, faithful to the spirit of the National Charter on the definition of Algerian foreign policy, which is the reflection of domestic policy and incites us to work tirelessly to support the struggle of nations against colonialism, imperialism, racism, and reaction, the council reaffirms the necessity for working to extend the struggle of progressive forces in the world, and to consolidate the struggle of national liberation movements and the struggles of workers for justice, social progress, and peace.

The present international situation is marked by a sharpening of the conflict between the forces of imperialist aggression on the one hand and, on the other, the socialist progressive forces and peoples who are fighting for freedom, independence, and progress as well as for the building of a world of social justice.

Thus the National Council notes with satisfaction the many victories won by the brother Saharan people at the military and diplomatic level against the royal regime; the council renews its active support for the Saharan people's combat and for the Polisario Front, its leader for freedom and independence.

The council renews its unwavering support for the struggling Palestinian people, which is presently encountering sly maneuvers to liquidate it, especially the tripartite Camp David plot intended to purloin the rights of the Palestinian people to the establishment of its independent state.

The council condemns the Sadat regime, which has set itself up in the region as a policeman of imperialism and its lackey, Zionism, to strike the progressive

forces in the Arab region and in Africa and to break ranks with Arab unity.

The council notes with satisfaction the results obtained by the Front of Firmness and Resistance in strengthening progressive Arab ranks hostile to imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction. It also expresses its satisfaction with the results obtained during President Chadli Bendjedid's working visit to the Arab region.

The council warmly salutes the victory won by the Zimbabwe people after several years of struggle against the racist regime. It also salutes the victory of the people of Nicaragua over the fascist military junta and the establishment of a revolutionary government led by the Sandinist Front, which expresses the profound aspirations of the working masses in that country.

The council notes with pride the historic victory of the Iranian people, who overthrew the shah's regime and changed the balance of power in favor of the progressive forces in the region.

The revolution unleashed in Afghanistan has brought down the wrath of imperialism and local reaction and the one-sided campaigns of Western media; no further argument is necessary to reaffirm that the Afghan people's victory is imperative in their just combat.

Finally, the council salutes strongly and sincerely the general secretary of the Liberation Front Party for the continued efforts to solve the economic and social problems of the country and expresses to him its unwavering support for his decisions on behalf of the revolution and the country.

In conclusion, the National Council appeals to all workers to side with the basic forces of the revolution, fellahs, youth, women, moudjahidin and djounoud of the ANP [People's National Army], the spearhead of the revolution and defender of territorial integrity and the accomplishments of the revolution against whoever might try to undermine the socialist option.

We are more than ever determined to redouble the struggle to make other achievements and extend the revolution and the socialist edification of the country.

/The National Council joins the general secretary of the UGTA in calling for a volunteer day for the agrarian revolution on 13 June 1980./

We call on all workers to show on that day their support for their fellahs in consolidating, supporting, and defending the achievements of the agrarian revolution as was shown in the May Day festivities.

The day of 13 June 1980 should be one of actual solidarity in harmony with the direction of President Chadli Bendjedid to guarantee the success of the FLN's special congress and the application of the National Charter.

DECENTRALIZATION SEEN AS BASIS OF 5-YEAR PLAN

5-Year Plan Discussions

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 8 Jun 80 pp 1-2

[Articles by O. B.: "Continuing Debate on Five-Year Plan"; and Lies Sahar: "Decentralization, Control and Choice of Men"]

[Text] Marked by a concern for responsible democracy and militant frankness, the debate on the proposed 5-year plan continues throughout the country.

In Algiers, the study days presided over by high officials from the Ministry of Planning and Development of the Territory and the national councils of mass organizations are developing a constructive dialog and making a highly positive contribution to the undertaking.

Yesterday's debate with the communal and wilaya [governorate] People's Assemblies (APC and APW), headed by Abdelhamid Brahimi, and the special meeting of the National Council of the Veterans' Organization (ONM) made it possible, in the case of the former, to enable elected officials to gain a better understanding of their prerogatives and their real power vis-a-vis the different authorities, and in the case of the latter, to demonstrate the willingness of veterans to continue to work with sincerity and integrity for the triumph of the ideals of the November Revolution.

The work of the council concludes today and the final report will be based on several points, particularly housing, construction by individuals, the economic balance, improving living conditions in rural areas, the choice of leaders, strengthening of the party, the means to be used to write the country's history, agriculture and industrialization.

At the Palace of Nations yesterday, presidents of the wilaya and communal People's Assemblies spent the entire day working on the proposed 5-year plan for 1980-1984. The meeting was attended by Abdelhamid Brahimi, minister of planning and development of the territory.

The presentation of the evaluation of a decade of economic and social development was discussed at length. On this subject, Brahimi said that "we cannot lie to the people and we cannot allow the multinationals to one day head the country." The evaluation pointed up major distortions and imbalances. In order to remedy these weaknesses, the 5-year plan proposes an economic and social policy for all sectors.

In addition, planning means intervention in the direction of the national economy.

It is no longer a matter of mere planning of investments, Brahimi said. The minister also spoke at length about the role of the People's Assemblies elected within the framework of decentralization and the democratization of the national economy. He specified that decentralization does not mean a reinforcement of the prerogatives of the *walis* [provincial governors]. Control by the people requires broad prerogatives for the People's Assemblies.

After outlining basic objectives, such as meeting social and collective needs, integration and the means to be used within the framework of the fight against imbalances and bureaucracy [sic].

The 5-year plan is an important phase in this sense, he said: We are at a crossroads and if we persist with the methods used heretofore, we shall be seriously threatened by the multinational companies.

All the nation's able forces must therefore be mobilized to get the national economy back on its feet. Many speeches were delivered in the course of the study day. In particular, there was a demand for a strengthening of the prerogatives of the People's Assemblies (communal and *wilaya*) in order to ensure greater control by the people. It is therefore indispensable to revise the codes governing the Assemblies, in addition to other texts no longer in keeping with the country's economic and social evolution.

Some officials reported the great development characterizing certain regions of the country. In Biskra, for example, because of the lack of any infrastructure, the people have to pay 14 dinars for a can of water. In the governorate of Mostaganem, some villages and hamlets are still totally cut off from the rest of the country. In short, it is a situation that is worrisome, to say the least.

In other regions, the people's elected officials are sometimes intimidated and even threatened because they become "too involved" in the people's problems. There are reports of numerous violations of democracy. In the field of agriculture, participants in the study day noted that structures did not follow efforts made by agrarian revolution organizers and small farmers.

Discussions concentrated on responsibilities to be outlined in order to plan for the future.

Role of Local Institutions: Decentralization, Control and Choice of Men

Discussions on the 5-year plan continue. At the Palace of Nations yesterday, presidents of the communal and wilaya People's Assemblies and members of executive committees debated the morning presentation made by the minister of planning and development of the territory.

Numerous subjects were taken up by the speakers concerning the policy of regional balance, the fair distribution and rational utilization of human and material resources, meeting the social and cultural needs of the masses, upgrading the nation's material and human potential in order to be free of foreign control, integration of education into the needs of the economy, the rehabilitation of agriculture, and so on.

But beyond the debate on improving the proposed plan, one desire was clearly expressed: to do everything to ensure application of the plan.

Several speakers emphasized their support for the language used by the minister of planning and development of the territory, while backing the option of evaluation which, while it must note progress made since independence -- progress that is the pride of every Algerian enamored of his homeland and the political choice expressed by the people -- must in no way and under no pretext conceal the weaknesses, both large and small, or the deviations, if one is to improve the economic and social situation and eliminate the evils afflicting the economy. Human and material possibilities are immense; it suffices to release existing energies.

Concerning decentralization, the elected officials emphasized their support for the provisions contained in the proposed plan, but they did not fail to pose the problem of implementing the mechanisms of decentralization, particularly texts having to do with control, decision-making and initiatives aimed at expanding prerogatives of the assemblies, especially on the threshold of the 5-year plan.

Unanimity reigned concerning the choice of men. "In an atmosphere of clarity and serenity, on the basis of action and results, we must place the right man in the right spot," one elected official said. Several speakers condemned complacency and the status quo, insofar as the choice of men becomes fundamental. However, the mobilization of militants, workers and all the social forces of the revolution is in fact capable of supplying the necessary guarantees with respect to the application of the plan's objectives, supervision of men and the correction of all errors, provided that the immense creative energies of our people are liberated.

Clarity of Objectives, Priorities

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 8 Jun 80 pp 1-2

[Article by Halim Mokdad]

[Text] The current debate on the 5-year plan is an important step in the democratization of the country's economic, social and cultural life. Discussing, improving and participating in a positive way in the application of the plan: This was the presidential directive recalled at the seventh meeting of the National Council of the UGTA [General Union of Algerian Workers]. Embracing practically all the country's economic and social problems, the next plan represents a substantial wager in which, as President Chadli stated, "the role of the social forces, particularly the workers and peasants, is vital."

The debate underway at all levels therefore expresses above all the political determination to make a more accurate and exhaustive evaluation of our inadequacies, take advantage of rather broad experience in the field of planning and also, find a framework for the outlining and application of development actions. That is the process clearly shaping up under our eyes, meaning that the plan emerging from the next congress will be the frame of reference for the coming 5 years.

It is this democratic approach that now commands the attention of all revolutionary patriots. Here also, on essential aspects of national life, we are witnessing a deepening of revolutionary democracy.

Our people are acutely aware of the country's higher interests, its unity and the continuing need to consolidate it. Because of the plan's coherency, the clarity of its objectives and priorities, the democratic debate that will have preceded its adoption, the responses it will supply and the prospects it provides of greater social justice -- given the watchword of granting top priority to "a better life" -- will help mobilize the masses and strengthening the country's stability. Within this context, the role that will be played by the social forces of the revolution is decisive.

While the *vox populi* is necessary to the completion of a plan, the fact nevertheless remains that the latter must obey the laws and regulations of scientific planning. Growth in production and improved productivity require an introduction of various measures, actions that must be taken in practically all areas, both domestic and foreign, choices and mobilization behind requirements and revolutionary leadership. There will be no lack of disagreements, but those separating the objective from the subjective will be salutary because they will be removed from any ideological confusion.

In such a context of active national life, of an Algeria moved by an ardent patriotic, revolutionary and anti-imperialist sentiment, there will no longer be room for backward-looking, ideologically outdated, anachronistic or adventurist sirens. The plan will contain its share of tasks, responsibilities and motivations. The establishment of planning instruments will not be a succession of isolated or willful actions, but the product of in-depth work, of hard labors consisting of applying the guidelines of the plan.

Within a decentralized framework, thanks to democratic progress and the spirit of initiative of management and workers, the constant stimulus of dialog with all organs and elements or groups representing the people, our socioeconomic practices will result in a greater mastery of problems.

The human factor will be of prime importance in this general assumption of control, in the reorganization of our production apparatus. Once again, we shall have to quote the president in order to stress the importance of placing men in the right spot. "If we have faith in the socialist revolution," he said in speaking before trade union leaders, "we must work for it diligently, and while there is a large number of men who have faith in the socialist revolution, there are others who have remained frozen in one place. As I have said, they are awaiting the Messiah." On the threshold of the 5-year plan, we must therefore banish any wait-and-see attitude.

Organization, the socialist option that provides prospects of fulfillment, creativity and a radical transformation for greater social justice, and outlining responsibility are all reasons why our cadres must play a historic role in the process of building socialism, of working alongside the workers in the service of our country.

All solutions to the many problems of development that have fallen across our path since independence will find an explanation and the dialectical connection that were lacking. Would they have found them without decentralization, without democratic debate, without evaluation, without the increased importance given to initiatives and local decisions, without the participation of the rank and file -- even though this participation has to be further perfected and expanded upon -- without the determination to struggle against bureaucratic phenomena, without the elimination of technocratic practices, and so on?

All the plan's injunctions and on the whole, its overall guidelines, are aimed at making the country independent of foreign powers.

The fight against dependency on the outside has its own rules. Yesterday's example of oil, the new economic order, gas today, are living illustrations of this merciless fight to build a strong economy. It is by means of the convergence of all patriotic forces around this imperative that we shall be able to guarantee the country of the conditions for that independence. This struggle can only be successfully waged with the men and

women won over to the socialist option, the resolute revolutionaries. In his latest speech, President Chadli did not fail to call attention to the dangers now threatening revolutionary progress: "Antirevolutionary elements or those which have made illicit gains will always try to create unrelated problems and alter the atmosphere through a flow of propaganda so as to divert us from the real problems and from carrying out the motto of putting men in the right place." A plan responding to the underlying aspirations of our people is a formidable weapon against the enemies of socialism. In the final analysis, the plan is the will of an organized people, as our imperialist and reactionary enemies realize full well.

People's Creative Genius

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 8 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by Mohamed Benchicou: "Planning and the People's Creative Genius"]

[Text] Theoretically speaking, the development plans that have marked the past 12 years have not been basically inadequate in their design, even if, unlike the coming 5-year plan, they were often drawn up in a vacuum.

And yet, in practice, their results have left much to be desired. Many of the projects remain incomplete and industry has managed to monopolize investments to the detriment of agriculture and the social sector, despite official orientations. Serious imbalances have accompanied the process of industrialization. Little by little, delays inherited from the two 4-year plans and even the 3-year plan have piled up and they have once again had to be included in the objectives of the 1980-1984 Five-Year Plan.

What is happening?

To answer this question, one has to go back to a certain number of factors explaining the weak performances of planning to date.

However, one of the basic causes of problems resulting from the two 4-year plans is the absence of any instrument of control or rather, the lack of such instruments during the application of the plans.

Must we continue to conceal this?

Neither the communal and wilaya People's Assemblies nor the enterprises have brought their weight to bear to impose respect for the regulations and guidelines defined by the plans.

Consequently, application has nearly always been the exclusive task of technocrats, some of whom worked honestly, some less so, but in all cases, without having to account for their actions to the rank and file.

The political limits of these milieus, a certain mental "colonization," the remnant of the educational apparatus and complicity with the West, have ended up making application of the plan a process of relative extroversion of the economy (exaggerated use of foreign aid, the massive purchase of sophisticated technologies difficult to master, indebtedness, and so on), to the detriment of real development and the resolution of the social problems of the masses.

Throughout the period, the institutions of expression of the masses (the communal and wilaya People's Assemblies, mass organizations) were excluded from any control or any participation in the handling of the plan's application, for reasons having to do with antidemocratic motives, in particular, and the weakness of the structures.

The development effort as expressed in the plan was thus diverted from its initial objectives.

How can we avoid repeating the error?

How can we make the most of the plan from the indispensable creative genius of our people? How can we prevent the plan from being applied without the masses or worse, against them?

These are all the underlying questions of the revolutionary democracy.

Undeniably, the objective conditions of mass participation in control of the plan are more numerous.

Proof of this is the progress of the GSE [Socialist Management of Businesses], the qualitative change in the trade union after the Fifth UGTA Congress, improvement in the communal People's Assemblies, and the dissemination and assimilation of the principles of the national constitution.

And yet, other efforts must be made in order to guarantee democracy in application of the plan. The measures introduced by the proposed plan (annual production plans, pluri-annual AGI [expansion unknown], communal plan, wilaya plan, and so on) will undoubtedly help start a new tradition in the drafting of the plan and guarantee its imperative nature as stipulated by the constitution.

The most important thing will therefore be to see that decentralization is effective and spread to the smallest communes, not to be confused with deconcentration. This is the task of all those who have an interest in seeing that the 5-year plan is a truly democratic, truly scientific plan and that it guarantees the building of socialism.

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PRESIDENT ASKS PARTY MEMBERS, PEOPLE TO HELP PLAN

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 2 Jun 80 p 1

[Text] Algiers (APS)--The committee in charge of planning the special party congress met in the Office of the President of the Republic yesterday afternoon to continue its work in plenary session under the direction of Abdelmadjid Allahoum.

In the course of the meeting, the work of the subcommittees which emerged from the planning committee was reviewed. In addition, the results obtained within the framework of preparations for the holding of the congress were examined.

A proposed plan was submitted to the rank and file of the party for examination. Within this context, President Chadli Bendjedid, secretary of the party, sent a circular to members in which he states in substance the following: "Members of the party and mass organizations are asked to discuss, study and contribute to this document with complete freedom and democracy, presenting whatever remarks they deem useful so that the proposed plan may be the expression of the will and wishes of the rank and file.

"Members in enterprises and the different sectors of the government will participate in the debate at the level of the dairas in which they live, in accordance with the program to be defined by the wilaya [governorate] coordinating council."

The circular from the secretary general of the party defines the practical rules to be followed during the debate. For example:

"Members from the daira will meet in general assembly to discuss the documents and prepare an overall report containing all the opinions and suggestions from the rank and file. Reports from the dairas will then be gathered together at the level of the federation (national party commissionership).

The wilaya coordinating council will then proceed to draw up the synthesized general report gathering together all the opinions of the rank and file in the wilaya.

This report will be submitted for approval, as the general wilaya report, to a general assembly bringing together the federation committee and representatives to the congress from the wilaya.

Every representative at the congress will be provided with a copy of the report from his wilaya.

In this connection, the president of the republic and secretary general of the party emphasized the need to see that every report reflect precisely and objectively the ideas that was unanimously agreed upon by the rank and file at the wilaya level.

In addition, the proposed plan will be discussed by the national councils of mass organizations (Executive Committee of the UGTA [General Union of Algerian Workers], the councils of the professional unions and the Association of Algerians in Europe. The mass organizations and the Association of Algerians in Europe will present a report to the congress and the secretariates of the professional unions will present a joint report.

Instructions for the Organization of Elections of Delegates to Congress

President Chadli Bendjedid, secretary general of the party, has issued instructions for the organization of elections of delegates to the congress.

These instructions also set the date of the special congress for 15 to 19 June 1980, in Algiers, in keeping with the recommendations of the Fourth Party Congress, Article 91 of the by-laws and the resolution of the third session of the Central Committee.

The quota for participation in the special congress by party institutions, mass organizations and other national institutions will be set in keeping with the decisions of the third session of the Central Committee.

The election of rank-and-file delegates will take place during the general assemblies held by members in each kasma. These general assemblies will be called especially for this purpose by the wilaya coordinating council, which will supervise all phases in the process of electing delegates.

The wilaya coordinating council will draft a report on the conditions under which the election of delegates was held. The report will be sent to the committee in charge of planning for the congress, accompanied by four copies of the report on elections and the list of delegates from the wilaya.

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ROLE OF CITIZENS IN PLANNING DISCUSSED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 6-7 Jun 80 p 1

[Article by Kamel Belkacem: "Citizens and Planning"]

[Text] "Yes!" in the special congress of the FLN for the resolutions it will make to guarantee our people a better life, in order that the socialism being built in Algeria and whose political and material foundations were laid under the direction of the late Houari Boumediene may be the result of a national undertaking involving and unifying all revolutionary patriots under the aegis of the leadership of the country and within the framework of the FLN.

The proposed 5-year plan that will be submitted to this congress emerges from a desire to have done with the speeches that are foreign to us and to situate the true debate within the framework of the accomplishment of real political, economic and cultural independence. This must be the underlying theme of the democratic debate underway at the level of the country's bodies and institutions in an effort to evaluate our national economy over the past 12 years.

This evaluation will not be unaccompanied by an analysis of the distortions and imbalances detected in the sector and -- while speaking less as economists than in the language of the people -- by an enumeration of the progress made during the period for our citizens. Likewise, we shall look at the errors and deficiencies that have taken on the frightful aspect of wide-scale waste, bureaucracy and corruption, whose effects have often had a direct effect on the productive capacity of our working people.

In other words, the important achievements for socialism and the social conquests in the industrial, agricultural and services sector, analyzed within a national and international context, constitute an enormous step forward in the task of building socialism, considering the objective situation inherited in 1965 when recovery became essential in order to put order into a political plan characterized by total confusion and undertake the construction of a modern state capable of taking charge of development objectives whose content and meaning were to be specified by the

national constitution in keeping with the will of all the people, coming together in the first great democratic debate ever recorded in the history of this country or others that pass for examples of democracy.

Why then should we have a plan based on the conditions for a better life? In what way will it be different from those that have preceded it?

Some foreign observers who 12 years ago tried to discourage us from following the path taken by President Boumediene in the field of establishing a powerful industrial base are now returning to the attack, trying to convince us once more, in light of the current debate on the trends of our economy, to give up our initial choices with respect to balanced development and social progress, hoping to make us doubt our achievements.

It is true that the implementation of an ambitious and original agrarian and industrial revolution was, because of the means we had at the time, the cause of frequently serious growth problems, errors and deviations, generally due to improper application of the principle "the right man in the right place," now a political goal to be expressed in action from the top to the bottom, as emphasized by the president before the Seventh National Council of the UGTA, when he stressed the role of political bodies and our institutions in the handling of the country's national and local affairs.

Consequently, while there are not major changes in the strategy of development, in its internal or external aspects, we must note, in connection with the coming plan, that its objectives are situated on two levels:

First of all, we must correct the deficiencies and imbalances of previous plans, which implies an energetic reorganization of the production apparatus and of management, taking advantage of the experience of the past 12 years and relentlessly eliminating the causes of the errors and imbalances that contributed to the dangerous phenomena mentioned above.

Second, we must place the arsenal of means which the revolution has made available to us in the real service of the masses, eliminating those inequalities of opportunity that are in such blatant contradiction with the noble principles of socialism and the general condition of the masses.

The objective of the special congress of the FLN: "for a better life," is a healthy response to the concerns of the majority of the workers, peasants and young people who believe totally in this November Revolution that has never deceived them.

"For a better life" means, for all citizens, a reason to live better and the hope that their children will have a better future, a future for which their elders either lost their lives during the war of liberation or sacrificed the best of themselves in fashioning a world which they want to make more just.

The national constitution provides an image of that world which we must all turn into a reality, just as we all take up Boumediene's heritage, which must be strengthened and oriented toward the best aspirations of our people.

In the crucial phase we are now experiencing domestically and abroad, "for a better life" does not mean an easy life, a life in which we may be idle, for while the next plan gives priority to the concerns and needs of the people, it also implies having a deep awareness of the rules we have to observe in order to win the battle of production and management and thereby reconcile the rights and duties which every patriot is supposed to respect in order to ensure the welfare of his country and his people.

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ALGERIA

BRIEFS

TV SET PRODUCTION--Oran (APS)--Monthly production of television sets at the SONELEC [Algerian National Company for the Manufacture and Installation of Electrical and Electronic Equipment] in Sid-Bel-Abbes will total 15,000 sets beginning in June 1980. The company is now producing 350 black-and-white sets and 100 color sets per day. We note that since the opening of the complex up to April 1980, overall production is estimated at 97,530 sets. According to SONELEC statistics, 750 television sets are distributed every month in every wilaya in the country. [Text] [Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 2 Jun 80 p 3] 8143

CSO: 4400

MARITIME COMPANY ERRORS EXPOSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 1 Mar 80 pp 9-14

[Article by Ahma 'Ismati: "Maritime Shipping Errors Before Investigating Committee,"]

[Text] The committee, formed by the People's Assembly to investigate the facts about the Egyptian Navigation Company's deviations, has uncovered the state's loss of millions of pounds as a result of errors, technical shortcomings and administrative violations with respect to the Japanese ship deal. This occurred because of certain middlemen entering into arrangements to complete the deal, and the company's ignoring better bids in terms of prices and quality! The committee also uncovered gross neglect in maintaining the capability of the company's fleet of ships. This has been made clear by new ships being out of service for long periods of time, as much as 4 years, which has cost the state dearly! Moreover, the committee ended its report by revealing serious fraudulent actions by company officials, resulting in ships departing our harbors empty, thus giving private sector and foreign ships an opportunity to transport all our exports abroad. The committee also discovered the comedy of repairing ships abroad, where the company lost millions of dollars on certain simple repair jobs, which could have been done in Egypt at lower cost! Furthermore, the state's losses, as a result of the severe reduction in company profits, amounted to 4.5 million pounds!

Accountants Sounded the Danger Bell 5 Years Ago!

When the People's Assembly issued its resolution concerning some of the facts, under the chairmanship of Muhammad Rashwan, deputy speaker of the People's Assembly, it was based on a question directed from one of the Assembly's female members to the minister of transportation. It was based on several reports by the central accounting office concerning company activities. They made clear the existence of semi-neglect or deviations suffered by the state because of infringements which violated contracts to purchase new ships, to be put into service in 1975-76, as well as accounting office reports pertaining to voyages of ships belonging to the company in 1979, and about financial and technical discrepancies in repairs and purchasing with respect

to the ships al-Jaza'ir, Port Sa'id, Glenpatra, Star of Suez, al-Anfushi, al-Mandarah, Alexandria, Helwan, al-Fayyum and the Star of Aswan. There was also a report regarding free tickets.

An Astonishing Deal: Ships Bought at More Than World Prices; Some of Them Then Retired!

However, the most serious matter uncovered by the committee concerned discrepancies in an astonishing deal to purchase new ships in 1975-76. The story of this deal begins with a decision by the minister of maritime transport to form a ship-purchasing committee to contract for the purchase of six freighters and two oil tankers, and to negotiate the price and conditions of payment and delivery. Despite the fact that the deputy prime minister at that time, when reviewing the investment plan for maritime transport, approved contacting official quarters and foreign embassies in Egypt, as well as Egyptian embassies abroad to obtain bids for prices and their study, and in fact, bids did arrive from the commercial representative's office in the Egyptian embassies in Paris and Oslo, Norway, these bids were not seriously examined. Instead the committees resorted to purchasing directly through agents and brokers! The committee bought two secondhand ships and eight ships under construction. The following list describes these ships:

Names of the Ships and Their Prices

<u>Name of Ship</u>	<u>Manufacturer</u>	<u>Date of Delivery</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Type</u>
Six October	Spain	March 1975	5,500,000	Freight
Al-'Ajma	Japan	April 1975	13,500,000	Tanker
Al-Mantazah	Japan	December 1975	5,996,000	Freight
Al-Mandarah	Japan	January 1976	5,996,000	Freight
Al-Anfushi	Japan	July 1976	6,518,000	Freight
Mamryut	Japan	March 1976	5,996,000	Freight
Al-Shatabi	Japan	March 1976	5,996,000	Freight
Abu Qayr	Japan	May 1976	6,518,000	Freight
Al-Ibrahimiyah	Japan	May 1976	6,518,000	Freight
Ras al-Tayn	Japan	May 1976	6,518,000	Freight

These ships were financed by a loan valued at \$50 million, funded by the Arab-French Federation of Banks, on condition that the company finance the rest of the deal from its own resources. The deal's total value was \$69 million.

However, the central accounting office could have uncovered several contradictions surrounding this deal, as a result of direct purchasing and ignoring the other bids. The following makes this clear:

- The selection of some of the ships was not the best in terms of price or specifications. Japanese ships were brought despite the existence of better bids.

- Neither the authorities that submitted the prices nor the ship owners followed legal practices to reduce prices, but rather the purchase of the SS 6 October exceeded world prices by over \$400,000, i.e., nearly half a million dollars. The al-Ajma also cost more than a half million dollars over the prevailing price in world markets.
- The existence of traces of erasures on contracts to purchase four Japanese ships, in order to lower main engine specifications.
- Buying Japanese ships and contracting for them without compliance with the protests and considerations recorded in the ship-purchasing committee's minutes.
- Non-compliance with the price limit for the tanker al-'Ajma, resulting from the economic study made by the purchasing committee in light of world prices.
- Delivery of the SS 6 October was behind schedule, which led to a loss of nearly 120,000 pounds, in view of the fact that the ship was mortgaged, and the seller raised the mortgage amount after payment of the price by the Egyptian side.

On the Ships' First Voyages: Equipment Malfunctions and Vibrations

However, losses because of the ships' bad technical condition were not less than the losses in the cost of buying them. The Japanese ships' maiden voyages revealed that they vibrated. The ships' radar would not operate properly. Furthermore, the depth-sounding equipment was inaccurate and the deck winches and direction-finding equipment inefficient. Also the navigational equipment was conventional and not advanced, bearing in mind that the ships were built in 1974.

The amount of losses, borne by the company because these ships were repeatedly out of service, during the first year of their purchase, was approximately a million pounds, including repair costs and the costs of their being out of service during the repairs.

Despite the fact these ships were bought for long voyages, requiring their speed to be 18 knots, the actual speed of the ships did not exceed 14 knots. It became clear from Lloyds' documents that these ships were not in compliance with "Solus" rules, which are international rules pertaining to specifications which result in increased ship safety on long voyages. These documents, which are confirmed by the captains' and engineers' reports, also make it clear that the ships were built in accordance with substandard specifications, a matter which will affect their economic life.

As for the Spanish-built SS 6 October, some technical defects appeared during its maiden voyage, which cost the company 100,000 pounds. Other defects also appeared in the ship's winches and radar.

Was the Field Marshal's Former Secretary Connected With the Deal?

The report of the investigating committee indicates that many of the bids in the ship deal were submitted through brokers and agents, despite the fact that these middlemen had not obtained commissions from the Egyptian Navigation Company. However, the presence of 'Ali Shafiq, the former secretary to Field Marshal 'Amer, with the merchants in the Japanese ship deal is a suspicious matter, especially since the report of his murder in London and the discovery of a million pounds sterling in his house was previously reported in the press. It was established during the hearing and investigation that he had accompanied the representatives of the Japanese ship merchants during negotiations over the purchase.

One Million Pounds to Clean an Oil Tanker

Regarding inactivity of the company's shipping fleet, reports of the central accounting office refer to the oil tanker al-'Ajma as the most prominent example of the bad condition of the company's ships. The accounting office reports indicated that this tanker was bought for a half million dollars more than its value, that it was not the best bid tendered, and that the purchasing committee had not obtained the views of the Public Commission for Petroleum regarding tanker specifications, suitable for coastal shipping of oil, before buying this tanker. This led to a number of complaints about the slowness of loading this tanker and compelled the public petroleum commission to delay other oil tankers. It was clear that this tanker, which was bought and delivered during 1975, achieved losses in operation for 1977 and 1978 amounting to 2,200,000 pounds. Strain and technical faults also appeared in the ship's storage tanks, since the company took it out of service on 1-8-1977, deciding to clean it and convert it into a grain tanker. The tanker's cleaning was marred by many problems, since the company entrusted the cleaning operation to specialized Egyptian firms. The cleaning was unsuccessful, and it was sent to Greece to effect some repairs and to be re-cleaned. The cleaning operation in Greece was also unsuccessful, and it was sent to the United States to be cleaned and loaded with wheat. The company's losses from these operations amounted to about one million pounds, in addition to the losses from operating the tanker during 1977 and 1978. The investigating committee felt, because of the tanker's conversion into a grain tanker instead of oil, that it was proof of the company's failure in using the tanker, as well as the fact that the company's inexperience in cleaning oil tankers doubled the losses!

The tanker al-Marjan was in no better condition than the 'Ajma. On 4/9/77, the tanker received a cable directing it to Suez in order to discharge its cargo. It was carrying a load of al-'Alamayn oil. The tanker's captain cabled the company advising against the tanker's voyage because of technical difficulties with the generators. However, the company cabled back ordering that the trip was necessary. The captain was forced to comply after cabling that he would not be responsible for the consequences. What the captain anticipated happened; the generator failed. The company issued instructions

to the tanker to return to Alexandria with its cargo. A disaster almost occurred in the Suez Canal, in view of the tanker's passage through the Canal without lights. The Canal commission provided two diesels to escort the tanker until it got through the Canal. It reached Alexandria on 11/9/1977, where it remained idle until the date the investigating committee's report was prepared!

The company's president then issued a decision to scrap the tanker on 3/8/1978, but he again changed his mind and decided to form a committee to examine the best offers to operate the tanker and derive some use from it!

The investigating committee considers that there was gross negligence resulting from the issuance of conflicting instructions and from not paying attention to the captain's complaints, as well as leaving the tanker idle for 2 years with a full crew of workers aboard. Orders were then issued to clean the tanker and to contract with one of the contractors. Then the order to scrap was withdrawn and a committee formed in October 1979, a matter which constitutes a lack of appreciation for the responsibility of administering public funds. The company spent about 200,000 pounds for repairing and cleaning this tanker during the period from September 1977, to August 1979, when the order to scrap was issued, in addition to expense for insurance and workers wages which amounted to about 2000 pounds a day, because the tanker was out of service.

However, the surprising thing uncovered by the committee was that it established through its investigation that one of the Greek firms had submitted a bid to repair the tanker at its own expense and operate it in exchange for \$350,000 a year. However, the company is presently studying the tanker's use as a storage place for oil, which the ministry of supply is importing.

The Umm Saber is a company ship which has been out of service for 4 years, from July 1975 to June 1979, despite the fact that the ship, when it was idled, was only 14 years old. That inactivity resulted from breaking the main gear of the main engine's set of gears.

The inactivity began during the term of the company's previous president. The company ordered a set of gears from the manufacturing firm in Hungary. The company then cancelled this order and decided to scrap the ship and sell it. The company then reconsidered and requested the manufacturer in Hungary to make the gears. They were then made, installed and operated in June 1979, after the ship had been out of service for 4 years!

If it is taken into account that the average of fixed expenses for the ship was 2000 pounds a day, which is the cost of the breakdown, labor and insurance, one can estimate the burdensome losses which the company suffered!

Company Funds Gobbled Up By Dubious Foreign Repairs

Despite repeated reports from the central accounting office about large excesses in ship repair expenses abroad, which cost the company huge amounts

of money, but which in 1978 were still continuing as before, there have been grossly excessive conditions. For example, a life boat aboard the SS Alexandria was repaired in Rotterdam in January 1977, at a cost of 6600 pounds, when the boat itself purchased new only cost 8000 pounds! These repairs were not required under conditions of haste, but could have been put off until the ship reached Alexandria. Despite the fact the company issued a circular containing new rules to govern control over repair work abroad, these instructions had a negative effect regarding ships being idled abroad. For example, the SS Abu Simbel was out of service in Venice in September 1978 for a period of 17 days, despite an exchange of cables between the company and the captain over buying a spare part whose cost was only 1800 pounds. Bear in mind that losses borne by the company as a result of this ship being idled exceeded 35,000 pounds.

The investigating committee, chaired by Muhammad Rashwan, recommended that it was necessary for the company to contract with internationally reputable workshops in foreign ports. Moreover, it recommended placing leaders of good reputation on receiving committees to examine repairs and documents as soon as each trip is completed. That would ensure immediate accountability, enabling participation in technical control over repairs being done in foreign ports as soon as a ship returns. This is necessary, especially after the committee discovered that the company was having ships repaired in ship repair shops, and then having the same repairs done again abroad, or repairs which the ship's technical crew could make until the ship got back to an Egyptian port. Examples of that are what happened to the Star of Suez, Cleopatra, Alexandria, and the Port Sa'id. All of these ships had repairs done which were the object of technical and financial shortcomings on the part of supervisory organizations.

The Company's Refusal to Ship Exports Despite Worsening Imports!

A decrease of 3,700,000 pounds occurred in the company's imports during 1978 compared to 1977. Net profits declined from 5,400,000 to 1,765,000 pounds.

The investigating committee believes that the main cause behind the lack of achievement of budgetary goals and profits was the deficit in imports, since the company estimated the volume of production at 43.7 million pounds, imported on freighters, passenger ships and tankers. However, it only achieved 37.6 million pounds, with a deficit of nearly 6.1 million pounds. The deficit in freightage of goods amounted to 4 million pounds. The strange thing is that the import deficit does not stem from a shortage of goods offered for shipment, but stems from the great majority of company ships leaving empty from Alexandria enroute to ports in Europe and the United States. Despite the fact that the volume of goods offered for shipment, for whose shipment the company ships have priority, amounted to only 158 million pounds during 1978, company ships only carried 15 percent of that, i.e., some 24 million pounds! At the same time, the Martrans Company, the public sector company that undertakes to fill gaps in our national trade, exported goods from Alexandria, Port Sa'id and Suez, on foreign and leased ships, whose freightage charges amounted to 6,800,000 pounds. The Egyptian Navigation Company only loaded goods amounting to 42,000 pounds, i.e., less than one percent of the freightage value.

The central accounting office submitted a report to the effect that in the period from June to August 1979, 29 ships left Alexandria harbor carrying 140,000 tons. Only 22,000 tons were loaded which is 16 percent of the cargo being carried. Furthermore, from July to November 1979, the company declined to load goods from Alexandria, whose freightage amounted to \$150,000. Therefore the goods were withdrawn and the private sector used to transport them. The lack of a systematic approach to scheduled ship departures also became clear, despite the fact that they operate on organized lines. The committee noted that during October 1979, 14 ships sailed from Alexandria. The departures ranged from 2 to 23 days late, a matter which lessens agents' confidence in company ships.

The Martrans Company submitted many documents, containing goods' consignments, which the Egyptian Navigation Company was asked to transport on its ships; they were declined!

The report refers to the possibility of raising the efficiency of operation and control over simple repairs, especially after it became clear that increased prices did not affect the results of the budget, since its overage was nearly 1,600,000 pounds in expenses for commodity needs, and an overage of nearly 1,200,000 pounds for conversion expenditures. That was in comparison with the final accounting of the planning budget. Moreover, the state authorized support valued at 4 million pounds for increased expenses in disbursements for repairs and refurbishment of the ships.

The Company Lost the Export Market. Why?

The committee's report refers to the reasons the company lost the export market. It became clear that no planned program was drawn up to make sure ships' crews were available for each voyage. It was stated that leased ships made the voyage northward taking between 40 and 50 days. At the same time, Egyptian Navigation ships made the same voyage taking between 70 and 100 days, despite operating conditions being the same for both groups! On the contrary, the Egyptian fleet was unable to load Egyptian cotton prepared for export, because of a lack of coordination between the maritime transport sector and the export sectors. Moreover, the bad operating conditions were reflected in disorderly crowding of ships in the lines. This resulted in several ships being in one port abroad at the same time. As a result of that, the ships were idle for long periods waiting for cargo, while goods were searched for to ship aboard them. Also, fraud by workers in the commercial administration to give the export market to private sector firms, by not setting up a program for ships suitable for export of citrus fruits and fresh goods, as well as a lack of organized dates for the ships with regard to port times, all this compelled exporters to cancel authorizations.

Company Officials Sold Passengers to the Private Sector!

The investigating committee uncovered another serious matter, the existence of fraud in transporting passengers, as a result of connections between workers in the main company offices in Cairo and Alexandria and passenger companies in the private sector. The fraud was to obtain commissions for these

offices as a result of these officials refusing to reserve places for passengers and then directing them to Saudi and other transport firms. Despite the company's management receiving numerous complaints, no measures were taken to remove the workers. The company was content to transfer the director of the pilgrimage office in Alexandria to the administrative office, without conducting a legal investigation in the company, regarding the fictitious reservation situation, in order to make a legal case. Further, the committee discovered that passenger ships were departing Suez empty in non-pilgrimage season, at a time when private sector ships were fully loaded. That was despite the fact that the company set up a system to reduce the fare by 10 percent on group reservations, in addition to 25 percent commission to tourist offices. The goal for transporting passengers in the 1978 budget was 4 million pounds. The company only achieved 3.3 million pounds.

Son and Brother of Maritime Transport Official Receive Fictitious Work Contracts on One Ship

One of the strangest discrepancies found by the committee was one of the accounting office's reports about a situation that occurred in 1976. The company granted free tickets to both the brother and son of one of the former officials of the maritime transport. It then concluded a temporary, fictitious work contract on the same ship upon which they sailed during that voyage. It of course paid them wages during this voyage, a matter which proves negligence with public funds. The reports also indicate that the total of free tickets issued in 1975 amounted to 707, valued at 70,000 pounds.

The committee also pointed out that the company resorted on several occasions to purchasing its needs directly, both domestically and abroad, at a time in time the committee knew that crew members complained about many of these supplies due to spoiled articles. The committee believes that it would be possible to list commodity requirements and ships' needs and subject them to public bidding each year in order to obtain the lowest prices. Moreover, there could be a need justifying direct purchase in some cases, but the committee objects to it as a general principle.

Recommendations for a Comprehensive Change

The investigating committee concluded with several recommendations regarding the ministry of maritime transport:

1. The need to review the present structure of the Egyptian Navigation Company's board of directors. This should be supervised by elements experienced in commercial maritime transportation and public sector companies.
2. Refer the directors of the Egyptian Navigation Company in the various sectors to competent authorities, in order to examine their wealth, in accordance with the law of illegal gain.

3. The committee recommends establishing a public commission for maritime transport, which would be equivalent to a holding company, to enable coordination to take place between the various sectors and the companies, modeled after what was done in the river transport sector, which is achieving the goals and policies set by the ministry.

4. Audit the status of newly opened economic companies for maritime transport, whose establishment has been approved, and task the appropriate minister to warn companies that have been established for more than 3 years but which as yet do not own ships, in violation of the feasibility studies submitted to the government, in order that these companies not be turned into brokerage agencies on commission without the Egyptian economy getting new, supplementary revenue. The government's approval should be cancelled with respect to these companies, unless they fulfill their obligations.

5. Task the public commission for the planning of transportation projects to study setting up a joint company to ship grains and oil, provided that this activity by the Egyptian Navigation Company be abolished, and that the ministry of maritime transport announce that publically, in compliance with what the study reveals. Task the commission to study the economics of operating the Egyptian Navigation Company's ships and compare that with leased ships. Realistic goals should be set in order to make the company's board of directors accountable. A feasibility study of the operation of ships more than 20 years old should also be made.

6. Task the minister of maritime transport with submitted recommendations to the economic committee for planning and production in the cabinet, in order to obtain decisions with respect to the need for the Egyptian fleet to share in the carrying of 50 percent of the exports of main crops, such as cotton. It is clear that the company does not now transport a single bale. Establish sound principles to facilitate currency transfers to the company's main offices abroad.

7. Include the necessary investments to purchase a floating drydock for the company to repair ships, since the present docks do not fill the needs of the refurbishment and repairs of the national fleet, a matter which will share in reducing expenditures of foreign currency.

8. Task the ministry with investigating the causes of the SS Marian being out of service for a period of 2 years, without a decision being made to that effect, and determine responsibility, since losses amounted to over a million pounds.

As regards the Egyptian Navigation Company, the committee issued several recommendations, the most important of which are:

- Review the principal leadership working in the passenger offices in Cairo and Alexandria and replace them with elements endowed with competence and integrity, including the pilgrimage administration, and bolster the commercial administration with some of the leading captains.

- Review the method of investigating violations and deciding transfers to the administrative office, without anyone being investigated or any disposition made, provided that the legal administration in the company accept their responsibility for these matters.
- Determine the status of ships which have been out of service more than a year and make the necessary study, along with requesting that the company's general assembly be convened in order that the matter be submitted to it.
- Prevent the purchase of secondhand ships, and conduct purchasing by means of world-wide competitive bidding. Make sure regarding specifications that all engines and equipment mounted aboard the ships are of well-known, international brands which can be relied upon, that the specifications also include calculations pertaining to balance, capacity, speed capabilities, dimensions both loaded and empty, and fuel consumption, and that the specifications include outfitting the ships with modern navigational equipment.

7005

CSO: 4802

SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT IN IRAN-U.S. RELATIONS

Paris NAME-YE RUZ in Persian 18 Jun 80 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] It appears that the crisis in Iranian-American relations is abating. The impression arises from the timid steps taken in recent days and the implications of remarks made in Tehran and Washington that the Islamic Republic and the Allied Nations wish to terminate the turmoil.

The American Government announced, as a first step, that Iranian students departed from that country would be allowed to return to America in order to continue their studies. This decision affects 20,000 of the 57,000 Iranian students who are actually studying in America. Jimmy Carter, in his turn, has said that America is no longer planning any military action against Iran, and an official in the American State Department specifically told European reporters that measures now being taken privately to resolve Iranian-American differences have already produced results.

On the other hand, Sadeq Qotbzadeh, after Kurt Waldheim's representative Habib Davudi's departure from Iran, announced in Tehran: "The current atmosphere is more favorable for resolving the issues between Iran and America." According to reports in the press, Ayatollah Khomeyni's son has said that the Parliament should select a Prime Minister and settle the hostage issue as quickly as possible so it can get on to other fundamental tasks. At the same time the mass media in Iran no longer gives much opportunity to the "Moslem students to express their ideas and actually" it seems that Iranian officials have decided to quell the public furor over the hostages in order to create a background for freeing them or for trying some of them.

Ramsey Clark, who went to Tehran despite Jimmy Carter's ban on participation in the Conference on American Intervention in Iran, said upon returning to America, "If the United States Government can keep silent and act wisely and justly, the Iranian Parliament may find a way to release the hostages." In the course of his suggestions for solving the current crisis, Clark said America should stop harassing Iranian students, abandon its economic sanctions against the Islamic Republic, express thanks for the fact that no American has been harmed in Iran in the last 17 months and abstain from interfering

in the internal affairs of other countries. Clark added that America should announce its support of extradition and trial of criminals and establish a commission to investigate past American interference in Iran and the killing of 70 thousand people by the hated former regime. Most observers believe that the crisis in American-Iranian relations is slowly but surely being resolved.

9310

CSO: 4906

OIL MINISTER VIEWS PRICING POLICY

Paris AN-NAJAR AJAD REPORT & MEMO in English 16 Jun 80 pp 5, 6

[Interview with Petroleum Minister Tayeh Abdel-Karim by Randa Takieddine]

[Text] For observers of the international oil markets, one of the more surprising developments in recent years has been the emergence of Iraq, once regarded as the OPEC price hawk par excellence, as a force for order and moderation. Iraq's new image was further enhanced at the latest Oil Ministers' meeting, held in Algiers last week, when its delegation took the lead in advocating a new price of \$32 per barrel for marker crude, in an attempt to restore some sort of unified price structure to the Organisation.

In the following interview, Iraq's Petroleum Minister Tayeh Abdel-Karim gives his account of what happened at Algiers and his view of what the future will bring. In particular, he asserts that it will be difficult to restore the traditional system of differentials; he also states that OPEC's new price hawk, Iran, is the "last country" which will be able to break through the new ceiling of \$37 a barrel set here.

In a rare display of candour, Mr Abdel-Karim told this newsletter that Iraq's current level of oil production was 3.7 million b/d. Output, he said, was "set according to our financial needs for development and for grants and economic aid to poor Third World countries." Iraq had paid out more than \$1.5 billion in aid to developing nations, he added. The minister said that as a responsible member of OPEC Iraq also had to take account of world supply patterns and the need to avert a glut in international markets was a factor in determining the country's production.

Extracts from the interview follow:

Q: What do you think of the outcome of this Oil Ministers' conference? Surely, we are a long way from price unity, since there are now two marker crude prices, Saudi Arabia's \$28 a barrel, and the official \$32 floor price set here?

A: We have reached an advanced stage in progress towards price unity. Unity is essential, both for producers and consumers of oil. For the former, it cements the solidarity of OPEC and creates a feeling of security and confidence; for the consumer, it is a guarantee against unpleasant and surprising jumps in the price of oil. It therefore makes relations easier between exporters and consumers.

What this conference has done is to make it easier for OPEC countries' heads of state and government when they meet in Baghdad in October for our 20th anniversary summit. That meeting will examine the long-term strategy and aims of the Organisation, including its relations with the developing world and the means needed for establishing a new world economic order.

This Oil Ministers' conference has set a new price for marker crude and a ceiling on differentials, which may not exceed the marker price by more than \$5 per barrel until the next meeting when the prices will be reviewed in the light of inflation and the depreciation of the US dollar.

Q: But Saudi Arabia is still pricing its crude at \$28, which is \$4 below the marker price. Do you think that there is any possibility of the Saudis raising their price, and if so, do you envisage a return to an ordered system of differentials?

A: I expect that Saudi Arabia will fall in line with the rest of OPEC before the next scheduled meetings of Finance and Foreign Ministers and the extraordinary ministerial meeting, all of which are due to take place in August.

Whether it will do so in one stage or in two remains to be seen. You must remember that the situation in the international market in the next three months will be a decisive factor in determining production levels, and you must take the consumers' stockpiles into account as well as expectations of a surplus. All this will enable us to set differentials more precisely, since they are affected by market developments.

Q: What is Iraq doing about its price?

A: We have raised our price by \$2 to \$30, along with the other Gulf producers. Since the North Africans have raised their prices by \$1.28, we have made some progress towards reducing the gap between us.

Q: But what do differentials mean now? Can the traditional system ever be restored?

A: Traditionally, differentials reflected variations in the quality of crudes and in distances between the oil-producing centres and the markets. But we should not forget that supply and demand come into the picture as well, their relation to differentials has not yet been clearly defined.

It will be difficult for us to revert to the traditional system of differentials; how we calculate and define the new differentials will be clearer when there is a balance between supply and demand in the market.

Q: An observer looking at OPEC today is struck by the political disputes which have emerged between certain member countries. How can you be sure that if the Saudis raise their crude price from \$28 to the new floor of \$32, other OPEC countries will not take this as a cue to increase their prices and go through the ceiling of \$37 a barrel?

A: Our principal aim at this 57th ministerial conference has been to establish a ceiling which countries cannot exceed until the next meeting. In my view, the situation of the market will prevent members breaking the limit, at least until the next meeting if not until the end of the year, whether or not political disagreements exist.

There is also a considerable stockpile in the consuming nations, added to which the consumers are taking steps to reduce their demand; these factors will relax the market further.

Besides, members will not go beyond \$37 a barrel, because they have signed an agreement not to do so.

Q: But Iran recently raised its prices while supply was ahead of demand.

A: Iran cannot sell more than half a million barrels a day for a variety of reasons, among which its price is simply not competitive. Moreover, you have to have political stability in dealing with others. Iran is the last country which will be able to break through the ceiling.

Q: Is the Algerian-Venezuelan proposal for a Third World development bank completely dead?

A: As you know, the Strategic Committee for OPEC under Sheikh Yamani's Chairmanship has examined Iraq's proposal for an international fund, set up by oil exporting and industrial countries, to help relieve developing nations of the burden of rising oil prices. This proposal is much more realistic and easier to effect than any Third World bank suggestion; it has been endorsed at summits like that of the non-aligned nations in Havana and even some industrial countries have responded favourably to it.

The Algerian-Venezuelan idea was rejected by OPEC Finance Ministers in Vienna and it is unlikely that it will ever be raised again.

RAMADAN ADDRESSES AMBASSADORS ON FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 4 Apr 80 p 1, 11

[Article: "During Meeting With Iraqi Ambassadors, Taha Yasin Ramadan Explains Objectives of New Five-Year Plan and Forms and Methods of Implementing and Practicing Democratic Administration"]

[Text] Mr Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister, announced that the five-year plan for the years 1981-85 will be exceptional, as it will carry Iraq into a new, advanced state, distinct from that of both developed and underdeveloped nations.

Mr Ramadan said during his meeting at the National Assembly Building yesterday morning with the Iraqi ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions abroad that the transition will require during the next 5 years basic measures as to the forms and methods of implementation [of the plan] and the forms and practices of democratic administration.

He added that the country will witness in this phase the general development of a democratic process in all activities, starting with formation of the National Assembly, which will share in ratifying the plan and overseeing its implementation.

Mr Ramadan explained that the basic aspects and phenomena of the last phase were expansion of the area of cooperation with the Arab and non-aligned nations, and adoption of the principle of diversification of economic relations with other nations.

He indicated that the country depended on the formula of joint committees in developing its relations with other nations.

Mr Ramadan reviewed the development going on in diverse fields in the country under the aegis of the July 17 revolution, under the leadership of the militant president, Saddam Husayn. Mr Ramadan then acknowledged the role played by the country's ambassadors in strengthening the ties between Iraq and the nations of the world to serve the national and pan-Arab interests.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr Ramadan answered questions of the ambassadors. These focused on the means of developing and expanding the scope of their work to bolster the country's position abroad.

Mr 'Abd al-Husayn al-Jamali, the undersecretary of foreign affairs, delivered a short address at the start of the meeting in which he praised the attention given by the leadership of the party and the revolution, led by President Saddam Husayn, to the various activities of the state aimed at Iraq's assuming a responsible role in the international community, in the service of pan-Arab interests. Also attending the meeting were a number of ministers and the heads of departments concerned in the ministry of foreign affairs.

9614

CNO: 4802

IRAQ

BRIEFS

LOAN TO CAPE VERDE--Iraq has loaned the Atlantic island republic of Cape Verde \$10 million to finance basic industries and development projects, it was announced last week. The loan, accompanied by a \$2 million grant to help offset Cape Verde's 1979 budget deficit, is seen as confirming new Iraqi interest in making loans to Third World countries. Last month Iraq loaned the Indian Ocean republic of Seychelles a total of \$13 million for industrial and agricultural development; in April it increased its commitment to the Arab Monetary Fund by about \$50 million. The loan to Cape Verde, repayable at 2.5 percent was negotiated during a visit to Baghdad by President Aristides Pereira. At the same time, the two countries signed an economic cooperation accord and a declaration of intent on future Iraqi oil sales to Cape Verde. Until now, Cape Verde has been receiving Nigerian oil refined by its former colonial power, Portugal. Iraq and Portugal recently concluded a number of important oil, uranium and other economic agreements. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHA? ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 2 Jun 80 p 12]

OIL TALKS WITH USSR--Last week, a delegation from the Iraqi Ministry of Oil went on a visit to the Soviet Union lasting 7 days. The talks included Iraqi oil exports to the Soviet Union and their increase in the wake of the oil crisis between Iran and the Soviets. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 11 Apr 80 p 13] 9614

CSO: 4802

'HA'ARETZ' PREDICTS FRESH TROUBLE IN WEST BANK

TA251637 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 25 Jun 80 p 9

[Commentary by Yehuda Litani: "Short-Term Calm"]

[Text] The calm that has prevailed in the territories ever since the attack against the two mayors of Nabulus and Ramallah, was broken this week for the first time. When the news broke of the death of the girl student from the village of Batir, who was killed by a stray bullet fired by a border guard in Bethlehem last week, clashes broke out between military government personnel and students from the Bi'r Zayt College. Other than one other incident (a reservist was fired at and wounded in Bethlehem on Saturday), there has been a calm the like of which the West Bank has not felt for a long time. As we learned this week, it is a short-term calm; the result of the shock of the blow at the mayors and the military government's firm hand policy, covering up a clear absence of any basic policy on the issue of the territories.

Two mayors have been deported, two mayors have been wounded in attacks, the distribution of two papers published in East Jerusalem, AL-SHA'B and AL-FAJR, has been banned (in the meantime they may again be distributed in the territories). The people in the territories were in a state of shock primarily because of the affair of the attacks against the mayors. Not only shock; fear, too. Some members of the National Guidance Committee, the supreme authority of Fatah members in the territories, feared that they would also be harmed by similar actions. Immediately after the attacks, the committee's activity was paralyzed, but shortly afterward its members got organized and established links among themselves.

"There is no vacuum," Karim Khalaf, the wounded mayor of Ramallah, said from his bed in the government hospital in Ramallah to the communist weekly AL-TALI'AH published in East Jerusalem. By this, Khalaf meant to say that the committee's activity was continuing. Nabulus Mayor Bassam al-Shak'ah, who was far more seriously wounded and both of whose legs were amputated as a result of the attack, also aims at not leaving any vacuum. This week Karim Khalaf left for Jordan, and it has already been reported from Amman that Bassam al-Shak'ah intends to return to Nabulus this week. Al-Shak'ah friends explained that although his medical treatment has not been completed

and he will need protracted treatment until he is fitted with prosthetic legs, he wants to demonstrate his presence in his town after Khalaf's departure from the country.

"We are like grass," one of the members of the National Guidance Committee told me this week, "we are mown down but new grass will always grow." Immediately after June 1967 Israel deported many public figures to Jordan, but other emerged. When you tell the 20-year-olds--the member of the National Guidance Committee continued--who were those who were regarded as the public leaders in 1967, they raise their eyebrows in surprise. Those young people do not know most of the people who were regarded as the leaders of the territories 13 years ago, because they were then 7 years old and the names meant nothing to them.

Surprisingly, the members of the National Guidance Committee and the leaders of the settlements in the territories are finding themselves taking the same position: opposition to any change to the current status quo in which the IDF, by means of the military government, rules the territories. The members of the National Guidance Committee (and, in fact, most of the inhabitants of the territories as well) are opposed to a change in the conquest situation. They fear that through the autonomy program Israel will, in fact, annex the territories. They are opposed to the autonomy and certainly opposed to Israel annexing the territories. The settlements' leaders are also opposed to the implementation of the autonomy, for fear that this will lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories. They would prefer a full annexation of the territories by Israel, but knowing that the international situation does not permit this, they would be satisfied with the continuation of the military government.

The military government is continuing with a very clear (a firm hand) policy for the short term, and it is not at all clear about the long term. Moshe Dayan's legacy did not make things particularly difficult for Shim'on Peres, who had succeeded Dayan as the defense minister and who had agreed almost completely with the line laid down by Dayan. 'Ezer Weizman, too, in his special way, with many zigzags and fluctuations, in the final analysis carried on Moshe Dayan's policy in the territories. Now Menahem Begin is minister of defense and the direct political authority for the various military ranks on the issues of the territories (it is hard to say that Deputy Defense Minister Mordekhai Tzipori, although he is senior in the establishment, is the final judge on issues of the territories, although his recommendations may be taken into account more now).

Moshe Dayan's legacy in the territories is a burden on Menahem Begin. This is a system whose center is the open bridges leading, first of all, to Amman and the other Jordanian towns, and under which the inhabitants of the West Bank and some of the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip carry Jordanian passports and are considered to be Jordanian citizens with all that involves. This is a system that permits the Kingdom of Jordan to pay supplementary salaries to all the local civil servants--teachers, officials, doctors and even municipality employees--as well as special payments to all those people Jordan

cares about, not to mention a system of pension payments covering many thousands of people in the West Bank. In spite of the increase in the PLO's influence, Jordan still maintains a widespread set of links with the inhabitants of the territories. Jordan is the sole ruler in the field of religion and it pays the salaries of the clerics who preach in the mosques--which it renovates with its funds--and sees to it--not purely for the sake of heaven--that the entire religious establishment should be under its full control.

Menahem Begin is not interested in a dialog with King Husayn. He is not looking toward Jordan. The only solution he agrees to on the Palestinian issue is autonomy (and this, as he himself has admitted, is in accordance with the idea envisioned by his teacher and master, Ze'ev Jabotinsky). And this is despite the fact that, in accordance with the Camp David agreements, signed by Menahem Begin, an important, not at all secondary, role is intended for Jordan. The alignment, which is avowedly in favor of an agreement with Jordan, is accused by Likud members (especially by Deputy Minister Yoram Aridor, who in this case as in others, it may be assumed, is parroting his masters' voices) of helping toward the establishment of an "'Arafatist state." (When Aridor was asked last week about Yiga'el Hurvitz, he said it would be regrettable if Hurvitz left the government since, in the final analysis, his objectives and those of the Likud were the same--the prevention of the establishment of an 'Arafatist state in the territories.) Perhaps Mr Begin's agreement to Jordan's inclusion in the Camp David agreements and to the fact that it was intended to play an important role while Moshe Dayan was foreign minister may be attributed to the not inconsiderable influence the latter has had over the prime minister of Israel.

However, now Moshe Dayan is not in office as foreign minister and Menahem Begin is free to lead as he sees fit, especially in the Israeli ruling establishment in the territories over which he is now directly in charge. However, even if he gives Hitzhaq Shamir the post of defense minister, he will be able to change the system without entering into confrontation with the new defense minister.

What orientation will Mr Begin use? At this stage, will he be able to change anything in the complicated Israeli administration in the territories? It does not appear that Menahem Begin, who comes up against another difficulty every week--budgetary cuts, manning portfolios, settlements, inflation--will be able to devote time and energy to making a basic change in the system. At this stage he will prefer to leave the current system as it is, continue to use a firm-hand policy and pray for calm.

And so, on the basis of an entirely different policy laid down by Moshe Dayan at the end of the 1960's, Menahem Begin's government continues to welcome Jordan even though it does not want to do so. For years Moshe Dayan has been proposing removing the military government from the town centers and transferring it to underpopulated places. Even if this change is implemented, it will not represent any revolutionary change, since the military government will continue to rule in the territories, perhaps less prominently.

The current defense minister's only contacts with the Arabs of the territories are summed up in watching the television and Rafiq Halabi's reports. When he decides on any move whatsoever on the issue of the inhabitants of the territories--banning the distribution of papers, investigating strikes, sealing off houses--it is as though it was a question of a distant land, although Eretz Yisra'el is closer to his heart than anything else, according to him. As prime minister, he has only held contacts with representatives of the settlers.

The inhabitants of the territories received 'Ezer Weizman's resignation with regret and the (temporary) appointment of Menahem Begin with no few fears. For many of them, his name is linked with the Dayr Yasin operation, with the Etzel, with the terror actions from before the state was established and less with the post of the sixth prime minister of the State of Israel who signed the peace treaty with Egypt. For the Palestinians who live in the territories, that was a treaty intended to stop them from getting political independence and so it is bad and the same applies to all those who signed it.

And thus it appears that the Israeli rule over the territories will continue on the unclear track of non-annexation and no change in the political direction. Neither toward Jordan nor toward the Palestinians. A military government which, during Menahem Begin's time in office as minister of defense, gives even greater authority to the military governors who, without any clear, defined political direction, incline toward silencing any ferment by means of a firm-hand policy.

The calm that prevailed for 3 weeks and was broken this week may last, with intervals, for several weeks, or even several months, but it seems that it will exact its price in the future--since it proves that the Israeli military government in the territories has nothing to offer now on the positive side, but only on the negative.

CSO: 4805

DANISH PAPER VIEWS ISRAELI LABOR PARTY POLICIES, CITES LEADERS

LD261203 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 20 Jun 80 pp1, 5

[Dispatch by Mogens Kofod-Hansen: "Opposition to Begin Would Make Significant Concessions to the Palestinians"]

[Text] Jerusalem--There would be many radical changes in Israel's situation and in its stance in the negotiations with Egypt on the Palestinian problem if the Begin government fell and the Labor Party came to power again. The opinion polls say that this change would occur in the event of an election now. But will there be an election soon?

Despite defections and internal dissensions in the government Menachem Begin and his ministerial colleagues are holding on to office. They are afraid of a defeat at the polls. Great losses have been predicted for his own rightwing Herut Party. The same applies to the liberal allies in the Likud bloc. And among the minor partners in the coalition Professor Yigal Yadin's democratic reform movement is afraid of total extinction. Of an original 15 seats it now has only 6 which still support the government. The others have deserted in protest.

Therefore the more moderate members of the governing coalition are swallowing whole a policy which they otherwise would not wish to exemplify. And so behind the locked doors of cabinet meetings they are content to speak out against, for instance, the settlements policy in the occupied areas without drawing the logical conclusion from their disagreement and going their own way, as Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Defense Minister Ezer Weizman did.

"However, we think there is a good chance of elections," Labor Party leader Shimon Peres told me. "When Begin was at the heights of his power he had at his disposal over 78 or the Knesset's 120 seats. Now he has only 64 and that is not the end of the story. All it needs now is the defection of another few of the coalition's Knesset members. We are ready."

Everyone is asking what influence a change of government would have on the peace process with Egypt. It is being started again in accordance with the Camp David agreement after a critical break in negotiations, but the gap between Begin and President al-Sadat will hardly lead to any significant progress towards a solution to the problem of Palestinian self-government.

Practically no one in Israel, whether a so-called hawk or dove, disagrees with the sitting government's demand for a security hold on the West Bank or for an undivided Jerusalem as the capital of the Jewish state. Nor does anyone disagree with the refusal to negotiate with Yasir Arafat's terrorist organizations, the PLO. These are elementary questions of life or death that have in no way been changed by recent worrying trends.

The disagreement--which has become a gap where more and more people are now supporting the present opposition--is that the Labor Party rejects Begin's historico-religious arguments, his demands for Israeli sovereignty over Judaea and Samaria, despite the promise of self-government to the Palestinians there, and the settlements policy that has been pursued up to now.

"If we come to power we would only accept Israeli settlements that had security as their objective, none at all in the densely populated Arab areas, and we would acceded to Egypt's wish that we should first make a plan for self-government for the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, for the problems there are much smaller than on the West Bank," Shimon Peres said.

Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban, who has taken a special interest in the problem for the Labor Party, told me in addition: "The central theme in our policy is that Israel should not aspire to permanent rule over 1.2 million Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza. There is absolutely no chance of creating peace, security and a cultural life if between one-third and half of the country's population feel alienated from its flag and national feelings."

Eban sees the solution in a moderate division with a border between the Palestinians and Israelis west of the river Jordan, so that the populated Arab areas do not fall under Israeli sovereignty. But he does not wish for a return to the old demarcation lines--which were never recognized borders--from before the 6-day war in 1967.

Security considerations will require small adjustments.

The model that the Labor Party's representatives officially sketch means that Israel would keep a few settlements with a semi-military function in an otherwise deserted Jordan valley to keep a check on movements across the river from east to west. Israel would not insist on any great enlargement of its "wasp waist" that is only 14-15 km wide near the coastal town of Nathanya because a significant Arab population is concentrated just east of the old "border."

Around 80-85 percent of the area and nearly all Palestinians would return to Arab rule. Several members of Eban's party even think that no demands should be made for full demilitarization of the area. No sovereign authority would be able to live with this. So as well as police these Israelis are ready to accept a military presence of the form of infantry, but not with heavy arms, and air force bases in the area.

The most sensitive point is Jerusalem. The Labor Party also wishes to retain the city undivided as Israel's capital, partly because the city has had a Jewish majority (in the most recent generation extremely large) for almost 150 years and to ensure free access to holy places, which were closed to Jews during the 19 years of Jordanian rule. Today they are open to followers of all faiths.

However, the Labor Party is prepared to go a long way to meet the Arabs and talks among other things of setting up an administration consisting of a number of smaller, self-governing boroughs in Jerusalem, as in London, with Arab authorities in several of them, under a joint city government. It even contemplates possible Islam control of the temple square--the Jews' ancient holy place--where the al-Aqsa and Rock mosques stand. A wide-ranging concession.

Like Begin the Labor Party dismisses the idea of an independent Palestinian state, because it, as Eban says, would be controlled by "an evil, hate-filled PLO" continually seeking the destruction of Israel. He only sees one solution; the connection of the Palestinian West Bank and Palestinian Jordan, and he believes that the population would accept King Husayn if they had the chance and if he was willing.

"The king carries the responsibility. It was he who created the problem by attacking us in 1967. If he had not done so, the West Bank would not be under our control now. It is therefore his duty to take part in negotiations for a solution," said Abba Eban, who thinks that the ideal solution would be close federative ties between Jordan and the West Bank and Gaza in cooperation with Israel, including economic ties, in a future "Middle East economic community." But for the time being Husayn has just repeated in Washington his refusal to take part in negotiations.

It is a long way from these thoughts to a final peace. But they may perhaps be able to make the path of negotiation easier. And they could strengthen Israel's image in the rest of the world. So the question remains whether the Labor Party will win the next election. It has public opinion behind it. But it hesitates and could lose votes because of a continuing struggle for the party leadership. The rivals are Shimon Peres and former prime minister, ex-General Yitzhak Rabin--winner of the 6-day war--who was toppled by something of a scandal just before the last election in 1977. Will their struggle give Begin another chance?

SURVEY OF LIKUD'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN OFFICE

TA251124 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 23 Jun 80 page not given

[Survey prepared by the Director General of the Prime Minister's Office, Matityahu Shmuelevitz, for the prime minister on 22 June 1980]

[Text] "Dear Mr Prime Minister:

On the occasion of the third anniversary of the present government's administration under your leadership, it is my pleasure to present you with this survey of the government's accomplishments.

It is not my intention to claim that there have not been some failures or deficiencies, but you are made aware of these, anyway, by the opposition and the news media, day after day.

Respectfully, Matityahu Shmuelevitz"

1. The Peace Treaty With Egypt

From the beginning, the government began its peace initiative, whose beginnings were "signals" to the president of Egypt via presidents Carter and Ceaucescu, continued by direct, secret talks between the foreign minister and Egyptian representatives.

On 10 September 1977 the president of Egypt came to Jerusalem on the invitation of the Israeli Government.

On 26 April 1979 a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was signed. A new era in Israeli history began.

2. Stand on Our National Rights and the Security Interests of Israel

The political and economic strength of the Arab nations on the one hand, and the manifestation of weakness on the part of Western nations on the other hand, place Israel under constant political pressure, with endless demands for concessions in the area of national and security interests. This government withstands these pressures.

In the face of isolation--and in a world either hostile (Arab countries and the communist bloc) or subservient to the dictates of the oil producing countries (the West)--Israel stood guard over her interests, and by extension, over the interests of the free world.

3. Strengthening of the IDF

The strength of the Israel defense forces has grown over the last three years, and its strength guarantees the peace and security with a great portion of her arms, and they are of high quality. Among the impressive achievements of the manufacture of well-known armaments, one should note the development and production of the "Merkavah" tank, the "Kfir" plane, the design of the "Lavi" jet, various categories of missiles, etc. The IDF and the defense establishment carried out a withdrawal from Sinai in the wake of the peace agreements, and a redeployment in the Negev. These campaigns are large by any standard, and they have been--and are being--done with extraordinary planning and organization.

Military production has been one of the largest and most important export branches from both the economic and political points of view.

4. The Fight Against Terror

The "Litani" campaign guaranteed the security of the northern settlements.

Security forces uncovered 138 terrorist cells during the past year. The terrorist organizations are successful in only a small percentage of the attacks they plan.

Defense and warning systems have been developed to prevent penetration of murderous gangs from other countries.

For the first time Israel is conducting a continuous war against terrorist organizations, reaching into their own camps.

5. Immigration

In the three years after the Yom Kippur war, the number of immigrants grew less and less.

1974	31,981 immigrants	16,400 emigrants
1975	20,028 "	13,000 "
1976	19,754 "	15,000 "

as opposed to:

In the three years since the present government has been in power, there has been a continuing increase in the number of immigrants, and contrary to the

opinion being deliberately spread, a decrease in the number of emigrants. According to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics:

1977	21,429 immigrants	11-13,000 emigrants
1978	26,394 "	8-12,000 "
1979	approx. 37,000 immigrants, about 29,000 more than the number of emigrants (which was about 7,00-9,000 for 1979).	

There are probably those who would claim that one should not credit this crucial and positive phenomenon to the government (the opposite would certainly be a reason for blame), as this is an external and/or coincidental phenomenon, dependent on such things as Soviet emigration permits being granted. This claim is difficult to counter, because we cannot reveal in public the details of the diplomatic activity and initiatives the government has taken to pressure the Soviet Union. It should be noted that the number of immigrants from affluent countries has grown as well.

6. Absorption of Immigration

The sorry fact is that what is best-known to the public about immigration absorption is the existence of a conflict between the minister of absorption and the chairman of the Jewish Agency over the scope of each other's authority, and the impression received as a result of the publicity this matter has been given is that there is total chaos in the area of immigration absorption. There are few who know that:

A.. This conflict was not born under this government, but "inherited" by it from previous governments.

B. The problem of authority was solved once and for all by the intervention and decision of the prime minister.

Most important:

C. There has been a noticeable improvement in the methods of absorbing immigrants, and the 37,000 immigrants arriving in 1979 have been integrated with housing and work, while the number of immigrants' complaints has dropped almost to zero.

7. The Scarcity of Housing

This government inherited a heavy legacy from its predecessors in the area of housing for large families and young couples. In order to illustrate the accomplishments of the present government in finding a solution for the problem of the lack of housing let me bring the following facts:

At the end of 1976, 3.6 percent of all families in Israel lived at a density level of more than three to a room. By the end of 1979 (according to figures of the Central Bureau of Statistics), the percentage of families living in

this terrible overcrowding is 1.9 percent, and according to figures of the Housing Ministry this figure fell further to 1.5 percent in the first three months of 1980.

In absolute numbers: of approximately 28,000 families that lived in the aforementioned conditions of overcrowding in 1976, 16,500 have had their problem solved, and 12,750 have not.

In other words, we can say with great satisfaction that in three years the housing problem of 60 percent of the underprivileged classes has been solved.

In order to advance the momentum of building for solving the housing shortage--without jeopardizing the fight against inflation--the Ministry of Housing has frozen all building which is not for living purposes.

There is no more lack of apartments on the private market, and their price risen because of the lack of apartments has been stopped. In order to enable young couples and other eligibles to acquire apartments, financial help for these people has risen to unprecedented highs in the last year:

The lowest aid level has been raised from 12 percent to 33 percent of the price of the apartment.

The highest aid level has been raised from 31 percent to 73 percent of the price of the apartment.

In addition, people in the above categories enjoy a tax return on building materials amounting to 16.4 percent of the price of an apartment.

If this momentum of building and generous financial aid continues, it is possible to predict that in the next 3-4 years there will be housing for all who need.

8. Settlement

One of the more impressive accomplishments of this government is the momentum of settlement. In its three-year administration, 116 settlements were established in all section of Israel.

The state has not known such a momentum of settlement since its establishment.

Division of settlements established by areas:

Judea and Samaria	35 settlements
Jordan Valley	8 "
Golan Heights	6 "
Gaza Strip and Sinai	8 "
Galilee	21 " (12 populated, 9 partially)
Galilee	28 lookouts (13 populated, 15 to be populated in near future)

Negev Plateau, 'Arava, Besor District 10 settlements

TOTAL: 116 settlement points

One of the amazing phenomena is that, in the eight years from 1969-77, not a single Jewish settlement was established in the mountainous area of the Galilee by the two previous governments, despite the fact that these governments championed the (unsuccessful) slogan: "The Judaization of the Galilee."

9. Distribution of Population

The momentum of settlement, the construction policy, and the policy of the Social Welfare Ministry in coordination with the ministries of Finance and Industry-Commerce and Tourism caused for the first time a significant movement of population from the coastal strip to the remaining parts of the country. It is sufficient to point out that about 2,500 families (about 10,000 people), most of them academics, moved from the coastal plain to development towns.

The move was even greater from the coastal plain to the settlements established throughout Eretz Yisra'el. The number of Jews in Judaea and Samaria alone increased from 5,000 in 1977 to 13,000 in 1980, and only budgetary difficulties in developing a foundation today delays many thousands from building their homes far from the concentrations of population in the coastal plain and strip.

10. Social Legislation

Free high school education law--approved by the cabinet and passed by the Knesset, at the initiative of the education minister, the law has been operative already for two years.

Guaranteed income law--submitted to the Knesset by the minister of labor and social welfare, and already approved at its first reading.

Minimum wage law--also submitted to the Knesset by the minister of labor and social welfare and approved at its first reading.

Government pension law--a law which guarantees a pension to each person in Israel, now in final stages of preparation for submission to the Knesset at its current session.

Government health insurance law--a law which guarantees health services to anyone bearing an Israeli identity card, now undergoing final preparation for submission by the minister of health at the current session of the Knesset.

In addition to the above legislation under various stages of execution I would like to point out a number of initiatives in the field of social welfare:

National insurance payments--a real, updated increase is provided for those eligible three times a year.

Hospitalization insurance will be administered in homes for the aged, in order to lighten the burden on tens of thousands of families.

An authority for the aged and pensioners has been established.

11. Towards Economic Recovery

Despite the hard criticism directed at the government over inflation and the periodic price increases, it is necessary to point out a number of essential steps toward economic recovery taken by this government, which previous governments refrained from carrying out--although they were aware of the necessity of taking them, such as:

Determining a Budgetary Framework

For the first time, a budgetary framework was determined in advance, which is 6 percent smaller than the current annual budget and whose division among the ministries has been made by a meticulous observance of the budgetary framework.

When, following a decision of the court, teachers were paid a salary increment totalling IL5.5 billion, this sum was not added to the state budget--rather, 1.5 percent was cut from the budget of each government ministry.

Reducing and Cancelling Subsidies

This step was in the nature of an essential operation to cure the economy, previous governments recoiled from performing it out of fear of losing popularity among the public, following the price increases which this step entails.

A Real Reduction of the Governmental Apparatus

All the governments since the establishment of the state made decisions concerning a reduction of the governmental apparatus. These decisions were not only not carried out, but the apparatus consistently grew. This "analysis" was also carried out by this government in a drastic manner and without fear of losing popularity. More than 4,000 workers were fired from governmental apparatus, and allotments to municipal authorities were made dependent upon the effectiveness of the apparatus and a reduction in the number of service workers.

Increasing Revenue

Following an intensive effort to uncover tax delinquents, thousands of assesseses were added. Advanced systems of mechanization and orders regarding

the submission of updated declarations of capital close down those who conceal income and reduce possibilities for creating "black" capital.

Cancelling Supervision of Foreign Currency

The implications of the daring step of cancelling the supervision of foreign currency goes beyond fiscal policy; an obstacle has been removed that changed hundreds of thousands of citizens each year into criminals. Currency violations made with impunity were socially acceptable and harmed the moral standard of Israeli society and the attitude of the citizen towards the law and the government.

The easing of supervision of foreign currency, which is based on the government's confidence in the citizen, abrogated the overinterference of the regime in the life of the citizen and represents a substantive improvement in the quality of life in Israel. The confidence in the citizen justified itself: contrary to all the dark prophesies, not only did capital not "flee" abroad, but foreign currency reserves grew significantly.

Personal Imports Permitted

In the framework of the policy of "maximum freedom to the citizen," personal imports were permitted.

Cancelling Credit Subsidies and Determining a Unified Export Rate

The subsidization of credit for industry and determining various "premiums" for the export dollar had turned industry in general and the export industry in particular into a branch which existed from the profits which flowed from inflation and from "premiums" given as the result of bargaining, pressure, or the whim of the ministers in charge of the ministries of Finance and Industry, Commerce and Tourism. Thus an economic policy of discrimination was conducted and an opening was made for imaginary and even fraudulent exports.

The cancellation of credit subsidies and the determination of a real and unified rate for foreign currency annulled the possibility of "getting rich quick" with the help of currency manipulations and laid the basis for a healthy economy. The producer no longer looks for the profitability of his factory in "premiums" and "linkage margins" which come from the state coffers, but rather in the efficiency of his factory, in the improvement of his product, and the finding of markets abroad.

A Rise in Exports and a Reduction of Imports

As a result of the economic steps taken by the government, Israel's industrial and agricultural exports grew in 1979 by 37 percent.

This is the beginning of the process of attaining a positive balance of payments.

The export achievements is especially impressive, given the loss of one of the most important markets for Israeli products: Iran.

12. "Looking Towards Production"

The reduction of the governmental and municipal apparatuses and the application of limits on the hiring of new service workers make a much greater manpower available for industry, and in 1979 industry absorbed 10,000 new workers, compared to about 6,000 in 1978.

A change in the relationship between services and the productive sector, in favor of production, was the heart's desire of all the previous governments, but the gap in favor of services had consistently widened.

For the first time a turning point of decisive economic importance is being marked.

Tourism

The year 1979 was a record year in the number of tourists who visited the country; 1,138,000. The number of tourists who come for recreation and excursions has also increased significantly--that is, this was not only "Jewish-sentimental" or "Christian-religious" tourism.

The Rehabilitation of Neighborhoods

A short time after the formation of a government, the prime minister announced the project to rehabilitate the neighborhoods of Israel ("Project Renewal"), and called upon Diaspora Jewry to enlist the financial means for this campaign.

In contrast to the municipal centers which were cultivated by the previous governments and the municipal authorities, most of the neighborhoods populated by the weaker segments of the nation were neglected and abandoned.

This government was the first to give its opinion on the condition of the neighborhoods and to take action of a wide scope to rehabilitate them.

The response of Diaspora Jewry to the appeal of the prime minister to place at Israel's disposal the financial means for this campaign is praiseworthy, and in the prime minister's office a headquarters for the execution of the project has been established, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Prof Yigal Yadin.

With the cooperation of the Jewish Agency and the ministries of Housing, Welfare, Education and Finance, a plan has been formulated for the physical, cultural and social rehabilitation of 160 neighborhoods within five years.

In 1978 the first 30 neighborhoods entered the cycle of planning and rehabilitation, and in 1979 the rehabilitation of 34 additional neighborhoods was begun.

Out of the 160 neighborhoods whose rehabilitation is planned for 1983/1984, 64 neighborhoods are already in various stages of action.

It is appropriate to point out that, during the past two years, the private and official communications media have not brought to the public's attention what has been done for the first time on behalf of the rehabilitation of neighborhoods, but, on the other hand, have often presented to the public the neighborhoods which have yet to find a donor, and the television screen has even been at the disposal of council heads and representatives of neighborhoods for the purpose of pressure, and they have presented this glorious project of the government as lacking in content and deed, and as a failure.

Education

In addition to the free high school education law, in application since 1978, a number of other achievements indicate progress, if not also a turning point in Israeli education:

For the first time, oriental Jewry and its heritage is taking its appropriate place in the history of Judaism, and is taught as an important part of the history of our people. Thus an end has been put to the cultural discrimination practiced for 30 years.

An accent has been put on and resources devoted to providing education and eradicating illiteracy among adults. The scope of activity in this field is indicated by the figures: in 1977, adult education reached 400 people. In 1980, this project included 10,000 adults.

The need for an extended school day was long recognized by the previous governments and represents an important article in the platforms of political parties and women's and workers' organizations. How and by whom will this goal be realized will be evinced by the fact that in 1977 an extended school day was conducted in 100 classrooms throughout the country, while in 1980, the extended school day has been realized in 1,000 classrooms.

It would have been appropriate here to review cultural and artistic life in the country--primarily given the lying propaganda conducted by certain circles--and prove that not only has state support for cultural and artistic institutions not been reduced, but has even increased in many cases. However, we refrain from loading additional data here, aimed to refute the vain words of snarlers and slanderers.

13. Health

In the past three years, advanced hospitals were completed and opened to serve the public, as follows:

--the Edith Wolfson Memorial Hospital in Tel Gaborim

--the Hillel Yafeh Hospital in Hadera

--the Beersheva Psychiatric Hospital

--the Shmu'el Harofeh Hospital was changed from a general hospital to a center for geriatric medicine

--work was advanced on the Sheba Memorial Hospital at Tel Hashomer and Ichilov Hospital

The opening of these hospitals makes it possible to close three small and dilapidated hospitals and to remove patients from the Akko fortress.

In addition to these:

A cooperation agreement was signed between the Ministry of Health and the American Department of Health, for carrying out joint projects in the fields of medical information, hospitalization, organization of health services, and problems of nutrition.

An authority for medical research in Israel was established.

14. The War Against the Plague of Road Accidents

The number of road accidents and the number of victims killed and disabled in Israel were among the highest in the world. Together with an increase in the number of vehicles, over the years the number of accidents, and those killed and injured, has also increased. In the year 1977 the number of those killed in road accidents was almost comparable to the number of those who fell in the Sinai campaign, and according to forecasts the number of road victims was liable to reach in 1980 the number of those we sacrificed in the Six-Day War.

A campaign was initiated by the Ministry of Transportation in cooperation with the police, and by exploiting all the means of communication, information, legislation, the introduction of advanced instruments for enforcing the law, and speedy trials--gave blessed results: in 1977 636 people lost their lives in road accidents. In 1978 (the beginning of the campaign) the number of killed dropped to 619. In 1979 the number of killed fell 17 percent, to a total of 566 people. In the first five months of 1980, 137 people were killed in accidents. This is about half the number killed in the same period last year.

If we take into account that in the three years 1977-1980 the number of vehicles on Israel's roads increased by about 20 percent (from 450,000 to 560,000)--then the campaign of the Ministry of Transportation reduced the number of destructive accidents by 70 percent, and the lives of many hundreds of citizens were saved thanks to this initiative.

To this unprecedented achievement in the field of transportation must be added:

--The highway to Jerusalem was completed and opened.

--The public transportation fleet was exchanged: about 1,000 advanced and more comfortable buses were introduced to the service of the public transportation companies.

--The recovery process of El Al was begun.

--The development of freight trains for transporting export cargoes.

15. Communications

Fifty thousand telephones were installed in 1978. This was the greatest number of phones that had been installed in a single year. However, in 1979 the number of telephones installed increased by 40 percent: in that year 70,000 phones were installed.

We can appreciate the size of this accomplishment if, in addition to this unprecedented increase in the number of phones installed, we take into account that the Ministry of Communications began to improve the efficiency of the system even before the budget cuts in government ministries were decided upon and the number of workers was reduced by 12 percent, twice what was required by the cabinet decision. The number of communications workers in 1979 was less than the number of workers in 1975.

It was decided to establish a "telephone company," to cut this vital service from the civil service. This change will make possible maximalizing the efficiency of the telephone service, and it may be assumed that, within three years, the backlog of installing about 200,000 telephones will be eliminated.

The direct international dialing circuit from Israel was widened to 45 countries and it is now possible to reach about 95 percent of all telephones in operation in the world.

16. The Judicial System

In an approach to shorten the trial process, the Ministry of Justice increased the number of judges, speeded up deliberations by adding trial house, and broadened the activity of the courts in small claims.

In comparison to previous years, the scope of legislation was broadened at the initiative of the Ministry of Justice in the following areas:

Judicial legislation (the parties law, etc.), preserving individual rights (bugging, privacy, etc.), fighting crime (increasing punishment for drug pushing, rape and kidnapping, protecting witnesses, etc.).

Free legal advice is administered to the indigent.

17. Non-Partisan Civil Service

For thirty years of the state's existence, the ruling parties took care to man the civil service with members of the parties in power.

The government halted this harmful practice. Despite the fact that members of the parties of the present government were discriminated against and even "disqualified" for government jobs by previous governments, this government decided, upon its establishment, out of a governmental approach, to consider government workers as non-partisan civil servants.

From the aspect of personnel changes among civil servants, a "revolution" was expressed in the changing of less than 100 workers in all government ministries, including ministers, directors-general, secretaries, etc.

It should be pointed out with regret that not all the workers and not all the parties understood the governmental importance of the creation of non-partisan status for civil servants working in the service of the elected government and in accordance with its policies.

18. Abrogating Protectionism

In the not too distant past, the term "proteqtzia" was one of the most popular in the spoken language of Israel. The harmful practice of preferring those close to the regime was perpetuated in song (Hayim Hefer): "I have a Cousin in the Qiryia" [Tel Aviv area where government offices are located] and in jokes (A new immigrant responding to a customs inspector in the port, when asked if he has anything to declare: "Yes, I'm a member of Mapia.").

Since the formation of the present government, "proteqtzia" has disappeared from the spoken and written language, and even from the consciousness of the citizens.

Civil rights are equal for all and there is no more preference for those close to power.

CSO: 4820

VIEWS OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT LEADERS ON NATIONAL ENTENTE

Interview With 'Abdallah Sa'adah

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 7 Apr 80 p 18

[Text] Following the interviews conducted by AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM with a number of Lebanese deputies about the principles of the national accord proposed by Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis, the possibility of achieving them, and what effect the Israeli aggression will have on putting these principles into effect, AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM asked the leaders of the National Movement the following questions:

1. Do you believe that the president's step toward accord will succeed?
2. What do you think of the measures announced by the Supreme Defense Council?
3. Do you believe that we can start on the road of reconciliation through the mere announcement of a political document, or do you think that another practical step must be taken?
4. In the past, views on reconciliation were divided among those who said that reconciliation is agreement between warring parties, and some who said that reconciliation is sectarian. What do you think about this?
5. There is talk that the step of sending the army to the south is the key to accord. In your opinion, can the army be sent to the south before all parties, including the Palestinians, agree on this question?

AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM met with each of Dr 'Abdallah Sa'adah, leader of the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party; 'Asim Qansuh, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; Hasan Qabisi, secretary general of the Nas-sirist Revolutionary Forces; and Faysal Fakhur, leader of the Lebanese Kurdish Razkari Party.

Our first interview was with Dr 'Abdallah Sa'adah, who confirmed that the political accord initiative defies the enemy's conspiracy after Camp David reached an impasse. The text of the interview follows.

[Question] Do you believe that the president's step toward accord will succeed?

[Answer] We are committed to the policy of accord in the Lebanese nationalist movement as the sound choice between Lebanese accord or a return to a state of civil war. It is no longer unknown that the Lebanese war was not a coincidence, nor was it a result of local causes. Rather, it was an important part of the imperialist Zionist plan which was exposed in the Southern Arab front by the Camp David agreement, the Egyptian regime's transfer to the imperialist-Zionist camp, and the beginning of a rubber-stamp policy which is the culmination of the policy of surrender.

Therefore, this policy had to complete its links on the northeastern front, and it chose the Lebanese arena. It relied on the methods of igniting a civil war and stirring up sectarian differences to bring the eastern front into the Camp David plan through the Lebanese gate.

As for the Lebanese war, in spite of the horrible destruction which it caused, in spite of the fact that it continued for 5 years, and in spite of the fact that the Zionist enemy entered as a direct party to the war in March 1978, the imperialist Zionist goal still has not been achieved, for the pan-Arab, national and progressive forces remained with the Palestinian resistance at the point of defiance, where they recorded a glorious victory on two levels: moral and military.

It is true that we did not defeat the Zionist-imperialist plan and did not triumph over it and its native tools. It is true that the treacherous agent Sa'd Haddad has persisted in his Zionist protectorate policy in South Lebanon on the border. He preceded Anwar Sadat in a rubber-stamp policy and opened the doors to normal dealings with the enemy. It is also true that the isolationist forces represented by the Lebanese Phalangists and their allies have established a protectorate in an area which they control in accordance with the acknowledgments of the enemy and the objective facts in their alliance with the Zionist enemy.

However, it is also true that in spite of that we have kept the conspiracy from victory, and in our responsible analysis we see that the enemy is still betting on his strength and his political influence to defend his policy in the Lebanese arena to return to a state of war, in the hope that that will achieve a victory over the Palestinian resistance and the Syrian forces present in Lebanon under the auspices of the Arab Deterrent Forces and over the parties and pan-Arab, nationalist and progressive forces in Lebanon.

Therefore, from the standpoint of opposing the enemy's policy and foiling his conspiracy, and from the standpoint of a desire to protect Lebanon's sovereignty and national unity, we have fought with the political solution and have relied on a policy of political accord attack.

We received a responsible reply from the president and the cabinet: the president's accord message, the resolutions of the cabinet which defined

the articles and bases, and the declaration of the defense policy for the Lebanese army. The policy of accord has won the support of Lebanese legitimacy, which is strong support in the balance of political effectiveness in Lebanon.

We believe that this policy must succeed. We are placing all of our bets on its success and are working for its success, but we are not forgetting that the foreign and domestic parties who detonated the Lebanese war may try to foil this policy, because its success means the failure of all of their plans.

We are certain that after Camp David reaches an impasse and after a number of world nations are convinced of the failure of the Camp David policy and the necessity of searching for a substitute for it or a graceful exit from it, then we can say that conditions may be favorable for the success of our policy and that the position of the parties rebelling against the accord will be exposed and will lead to their failure.

[Question] What do you think of the steps announced by the Supreme Defense Council?

[Answer] The announcement of the Lebanese army's defense policy in such clear terms and in an atmosphere filled with sincerity and commitment constitutes a basic turn in Lebanese policy and its commitment to Arabdom and the pan-Arab issue, because the announcement about the desire for the Palestinian cause and its revolution and the announcement about the special relations with Syria mean, in scientific political analysis, affirmation of Lebanon's commitment to the pan-Arab cause and its withdrawal from the concept of isolation or Westernism detached from national and Arab membership.

Also, the description of the Zionist presence as the enemy, and the announcement of the position of rejection the Camp David policy put an end to the debate which has continued for a long time in Lebanon about the concept of truce between us and the Israeli enemy and about the concept of Lebanon's culture and the meaning of its sovereignty and independence.

[Question] Do you believe that the path to accord can be nothing but the announcement of a policy document, or do you think that there must be another practical step?

[Answer] The accord must complete its journey from its announcement as an official legal document to become a new national charter for Lebanon, but the charter cannot achieve its goals unless it is embodied in steps to carry it from the legal realm to the realm of practice. This means translating the charter into Lebanese relations and practices with the Palestinian resistance and support of its cause, with Syria, defining the special economic, security and strategic relations, and also the remaining Arab relations. It also means building a new Lebanon on the basis of citizenship among all of its sons without privilege or distinction for one group over another or one region over another.

[Question] Formerly, opinions were divided on the accord between those who said that the accord is an accord of belligerents and some who said that the accord is sectarian. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] The Lebanese accord is not sectarian, because the Lebanese dispute is a sectarian dispute and accord is not built on the basis of the dispute but on abolishing the source of the dispute. The sectarian affiliation is a natural right, and freedom of sentiment and worship for all citizens is in the forefront of freedoms. Desire for them falls within the priorities of the concepts of freedom and democracy, but the relationship of the citizen to his state is a direct relationship without an intermediary. The relationship between the citizen and state cannot be based on the sectarian intermediary or intermediate sectarianism. Citizens in their loyalty to the state pass through several intermediate relationships, which cause division, disagreement and disputes among them.

Political sectarianism is Lebanon's first affliction, and the new Lebanon must be converted from a federal, sectarian Lebanon to a nationally and socially unified Lebanon.

As for an accord of belligerents, it is also a partial concept. It is true that the belligerents are those who embody the defense of Lebanon and its unity and Arabdom on one hand, as the other group embodies the opposing side. There is no accord unless both parties have announced that they adhere to the principles of the accord under the umbrella of Lebanese legitimacy, its organizations and its single central authority.

However, the belligerents are not all of Lebanon, for there are several groups of Lebanese which supported one faction over another. Also, there are groups committed to the position of conciliation for their own reasons, and these groups cannot be cut off. Although their effect on building Lebanon is second hand, in the final analysis accord is among all Lebanese under the sovereignty of one legitimate authority, on the basis of true accord and under the auspices of the democratic system so that the field is open to free, peaceful democratic struggle to select the powers qualified for the leadership of Lebanon.

[Question] It has been said that sending the army to the South is the key to accord. Do you think that the army can be sent to the South before all of the parties, including the Palestinians, agree on this question?

[Answer] The subject of sending the army to the South has nothing to do with the subject of the dispute over accord and security and which one precedes the other. We stated in the previous reply that accord logically, scientifically and realistically precedes security and helps to achieve it.

Therefore, sending the army to the South under the auspices of accord opens the field for it to play its national and security role and mobilize

all of the popular forces around it. As for sending it before beginning to implement the accord and considering it a legitimately determined matter, it might expose the army and the accord to complications, and this must be avoided. This does not mean that in case of urgent need we cannot, with mutual understanding and a spirit of responsibility, consider the subject of the South as a special matter worth our reevaluation as circumstances require, especially since the Zionist enemy has begun its shameless aggressive policy in the South and has gone beyond the borders of its previous aggression until it reached Sidon and threatens to reach Beirut.

Interview With 'Asim Qansuh

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 8 Apr 80 p 18

[Text] 'Asim Qansuh confirmed that the Arabization of Lebanon requires practical steps. Qanasawah called for building the army on a sound national basis and laying down the foundation to guarantee that.

He said that the report of a meeting of the leaders of the various factions to end the country's problems and crises did not materialize, because the mentality of the past is no longer in step with current conditions. The text of the interview follows:

[Question] Do you believe that the president's step toward accord will succeed?

[Answer] We always feel that the principle announced by President Ilyas Sarkis as a suitable base on which to build the national accord must be translated into practical steps so that one can say that the accord really will succeed.

The principles include, among other things, confirmation of the Arab character of Lebanon. Here we say that it is not enough merely to say that Lebanon is an Arab country bearing a share of the pan-Arab duty toward the problems of the nation unless that is accompanied by practical steps. The judgment of the success or failure of the accord proceeds to this understanding of the nature of the movement required to translate the principles and put them into force. Then when the accord principles on Camp David are discussed as one of the bases of the accord operation, the success or failure of the accord again is subject to the extent of the serious positions taken against Camp David. From our point of view, the accord principles received acceptance and support from all of the pan-Arab and national forces in the Lebanese arena. We expressed our willingness to cooperate fully with the president and offer all facilitations to complete the path to accord within the framework of this understanding of which I have spoken.

[Question] What do you think of the steps which the Supreme Defense Council announced?

[Answer] We have asked and still are asking that the army be built on a sound national basis. We always call for the establishment of a basis to ensure that. We cannot yet judge whether the defense policy announced by the cabinet will be able to build a non-sectarian national army until steps are taken to put that into effect. The certain guarantee that the army will be built in a complete manner lies in achieving political balance in the regime. For this balance, matters must be handled properly, and all of the requirements of the military organization must be supervised in a direct and practical way within a balanced national framework. Thus far the Supreme Defense Council has not issued the measures necessary to implement the defense and security policy as defined by the Council of Ministers, so we are reserving judgment.

[Question] Do you believe that we can start on the road of reconciliation through the mere announcement of a political document, or do you think that another practical step must be taken?

[Answer] I have said before that our firm and final opinion is that the word is linked with the deed. There is no doubt that the president's accord message is an important political document which was indeed issued. If the declaration had been all that was necessary, then accord would have been achieved less than 24 hours after President Sarkis' television appearance and the announcement of the accord message.

[Question] In the past, views on reconciliation were divided between those who said that reconciliation is agreement between warring parties, and some who said that reconciliation is sectarian. What do you think about this?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the report of a meeting of the factions or leaders of the factions to end the problems, crises and troubles of the country has failed to materialize. The mentality which had handled the country's affairs in the past is no longer suitable, for the given quantities have changed and conditions are different. The situation in which we are living today requires radical treatment of all aspects connected with and surrounding it. When I say radical treatment, naturally I do not mean that so-and-so from the West and so-and-so from the East meet over the lunch or dinner table, nor do I mean a mutual courtesy operation. The national meeting takes place on bases and principles adopted by the small nation. They outline the horizons of its future according to sound standards and measures which do not make us turn backward or place the small nation in crises and trials from which it has suffered and is still suffering. The national accord remains a basis for all our problems.

[Question] There is talk that the step of sending the army to the south is the key to accord. Do you think it is possible to send the army to the south before all parties, including the Palestinians, agree on this question?

[Answer] The subject of accord rests on clear and open bases and principles. They are all connected and linked with one another.

We say that the subject of the army entering the South is directly connected with the progress of the accord as a whole.

Extending the influence of legitimacy to all Lebanese lands is the basic goal of the accord. When all are assured that the army's structure is a sound national structure, the army can enter the South without opposition. As soon as we know for certain that the subject of building the Lebanese army on a balanced national basis within a complete national plan will lead to extension of the authority of the state over all Lebanese lands, then the entry of the army into the South will be a desirable, urgent and acceptable question for the nation and the larger Arab nation.

Interview With Hasan Qabisi

Kuwait AL-RAY AL-'AMM in Arabic 9 Apr 80 p 18

[Text] Hasan Qabisi confirmed that practical translation of president Ilyas Sarkis' statement would be a practical and effective step on the path to reconciliation.

Asked about the recent steps announced by the Supreme Defense Council, he said that defense policy must take into consideration coordination with Syria and the resistance and resistance of the Zionist occupation of our brave South.

Qabisi stressed the necessity of building a national army and to prepare it to defend Lebanon and participate in the defense of every inch of usurped Arab soil. The text of the interview follows:

[Question] Do you believe that the president's step toward accord will succeed?

[Answer] The points contained in President Ilyas Sarkis' message concerning defining the identity of the Lebanese region and an ensuing refusal to deal with the Zionist enemy, rejecting the Camp David agreement, a commitment to fight for the Palestinian cause, granting the opportunity to each citizen to participate in building the Lebanon of tomorrow on a democratic Arab basis: all of these things impel us to work to achieve them, especially since we, the revolutionary Nassirist organization "Forces of Nassir," are struggling to achieve these things. However, we feel that practical and effective translation by the authority itself and the cooperation of all parties which believe in the unity and progress of Lebanon constitute a step toward accord which must, in our opinion, precede any official or popular pursuit, since the commitment of the parties concerned (the authority, nationalist forces and other forces) to the spirit of this message is central to any anticipated accord.

[Question] What do you think of the steps announced by the Supreme Defense Council?

[Answer] The integration between President Sarkis' message and the decisions of the Supreme Defense Council moves us without reservation to call on those who issued these decisions to translate them into action, because we think that the basic causes of the Lebanese crisis lie in Lebanon's withdrawal from the problems and issues of its Arab nation and its reluctance to fight for its causes. When these decisions go into adoption of a defense policy, which means consequently defining Lebanon's enemy as a land and a people and consequently defining its Arab identity, the defense policy to be adopted must take into consideration coordination with Syria and the resistance as party to the Arab struggle with the Zionist enemy. When these decisions are committed to resist the Zionist occupation of our brave South and remove its effects, including the petty state of the traitor Sa'd Haddad, and when it is pledged to extend legitimacy over all regions, especially the "ghetto" area, meaning that it alone is outside legality, and when the state is also committed to consolidate its power, then we can say that we go along with these steps to achieve the security, honor and dignity of the citizen.

[Question] Do you believe that we can start on the road of reconciliation through the mere announcement of a political document, or do you think that another practical step must be taken?

[Answer] For our organization (that is, the Forces of Nassir), announcement of the accord principles constitutes only one step on a thousand-mile trip. We think that a national conference should be held for all forces which believe in the contents of the celebrated message to discuss practical ways to put it into effect. Support of its text without practical implementation would be no more than hoping for the need for positive translation.

[Question] In the past, views on reconciliation were divided between those who said that reconciliation is an agreement between warring parties and some who said that reconciliation is sectarian. What do you think about this?

[Answer] The struggle basically is a struggle between forces which believe in the Arab identity of Lebanon, its unity, progress and democracy, apart from any links with any allies or blocs, aimed at the freedom of the Arab nation and the Arab citizen, and forces linked historically, culturally and perhaps by destiny with the enemies of this nation. We as an organization are not classified as Christians as a sectarian classification, for nationalism and employment are not the exclusive possession of one sect over another. We feel that accord cannot and must not be on a sectarian basis. Accord is among the parties actually concerned with Lebanon's welfare, progress and democracy.

Accord must be among parties which although they may have differed in opinion have not dealt with the Zionist enemy. For example, the nationalist forces were in a dispute with President Franjiah, but the fact that President Franjiah did not deal with the Zionist enemy restored meetings and relations between the two sides. We think that accord cannot be between sects nor between progressive Arabists and those who deal with the Zionist enemy. Accord must be among forces which believe in a democratic Arab Lebanon and actually try to crystallize its form through talks, although the ideologies of the participants may differ.

[Question] There is talk that the step of sending the army to the south is the key to accord. Do you think that the army can be sent to the south before all of the parties, including the Palestinians, agree on this question?

[Answer] We have fought, are still fighting and will continue to fight to build, mobilize and prepare a national army to play its role in defending every inch of usurped Arab territory. We find that we as Lebanese have capabilities equal to those of the Zionist enemy, but nevertheless the enemy still is picking fights in our South, on our heights and in our waters.

The enemy's strength lies in his determination to defend bravely what he considers right, and our weakness lies in our feeble defense of our right. We feel that the army must be prepared on a national basis as one of the articles of accord, and establishing accord among the parties and forces concerned is a step to help this army play its role.

From another aspect, everyone realizes that not sending the army to the South was and still is a Zionist undertaking and nothing else, for the Zionist "iron" thunder stopped the army in (Kawkaba) and other places while the national forces and the resistance offered all facilitation for its entry in spite of their reservations about its structure. If sending the army is the key to accord and if the Zionist enemy and its agents are the ones who are preventing this army from being sent to the South, then they themselves are obstructing accord, linking this now unfortunately with approval of the parties connected with the Zionist enemy, because they alone are the ones who are obstructing the sending of the army.

We do not place the responsibility for not sending the army to the South solely on the Zionist enemy and its agents. This responsibility is shared by international society, which has not yet compelled the enemy to respect its decisions.

The emergency forces were brought in to effect the entry of the army into the South, but as yet the international emergency forces have not performed their two basic functions.

The first is liberating the South, and the second is imposing Lebanese authority over its land. They have not yet forced the Zionist enemy to

end its direct and indirect occupation and are even dealing with the militia of Sa'd Haddad as a fait accompli, which has not helped matters.

The authority which has not yet been able to recover even one of the soldiers who deserted in the Karm al-Zaytun region in al-Ashrafiyah in Beirut, this feeble authority will not enter the South until it takes matters firmly in hand, works through President Sarkis' message and the decisions of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Defense Council, and makes preparations to eliminate all who depart from the laws and from national customs.

Interview With Faysal Fakhri

Kuwait AL-RAY AL-'AMM in Arabic 10 Apr 80 p 18

[Text] Faysal Fakhri confirmed his party's support of President Sarkis' initiative concerning accord, which would strengthen Lebanese unity. He praised the steps and regulations adopted by the Supreme Defense Council as an initiative to spread peace and security over Lebanese soil. The text of the interview follows:

[Question] Do you believe that the president's step toward accord will succeed?

[Answer] There is no doubt that this step which was presented by the president is a fortunate one and heads the demands submitted by all parties, because in the final analysis there is nothing like accord to strengthen the unity of Lebanese and bring them together. As to the success or failure of this step, there are factors, conditions, positions and influencing forces imposing their presence, controlling the results and defining the path.

For our part, we are optimistic about this step. We welcomed it earlier, and there is still hope that its articles will be put into effect, depending on the will of the Lebanese and their dedication to preserving the unity of their nation and rescuing it from the labyrinths of partition and small parties.

[Question] What do you think of the steps which were announced by the Supreme Defense Council?

[Answer] The steps and regulations issued by the Supreme Defense Council are indeed good and positive steps. They have won the approval and favor of most parties. We hope that this step will be completed and will be supplemented by the growth and strengthening of the army, this important organization on which great hopes rest for spreading peace and security over Lebanese soil.

[Question] Do you believe that we can start on the road of reconciliation through the mere announcement of a political document, or do you think that another practical step must be taken?

[Answer] Experience has shown that all documents and agreements, if not accompanied by actual tangible things and accompanied by practical steps, remain mere ink on paper and never leave the realm of development. We think that in order for the path to accord to be passable to the Lebanese, the president's message must be followed by a practical step: either by a conference table with all parties and groups invited and controlled by the regime, or by round-table conferences, also organized and run by the regime.

[Question] In the past, views on reconciliation were divided among those who said that reconciliation is agreement between warring parties and some who said that reconciliation is sectarian. What do you think about this?

[Answer] No one can deny the size and importance of the fighters who were mustered for the Lebanese war. They have proved their ability to influence the course of events, and they must participate in the accord. Also, no one can exclude the traditional powers or ordinary political leaders from participating in forming the future of Lebanon. Therefore, we see accord as agreement by all Lebanese, Muslims and Christians, fighters and non-fighters, politicians and ordinary citizens, right and left, men of religion and civilian leaders. The important thing is that Lebanon participates in the decision and that no party or group is oppressed or cheated of its rights.

[Question] There is talk that the step of sending the army to the South is the key to accord. Do you think that the army can be sent to the South before all parties, including the Palestinians, agree on this question?

[Answer] Accord is an integral operation. There is no key or introduction, for all matters and questions are linked and intertwined. Accord must encompass all of the land of Lebanon, and how much more the South, this beloved part of the Lebanese soil. The truth is that the entry of the Lebanese army into the lands of the South as far as the border is necessary to remove the explosive fuse in the area, end the Israeli occupation, and participate in returning the emigrants to their villages and their homes.

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QADHDHAFI SPEAKS ON REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS

Valletta THE JAMAHIRIYA MAIL in English 14 Jun 80 p 7

[Text] Colonel Muammar Gathafi, leader of the great First of September Revolution has emphasised that the successful completion of the process of revolutionary transformation constitutes a victory of freedom over crime.

For crime is considered a social disease and the Jamahiriya society will be rid of all political and social diseases. During a meeting with the General People's Committee for justice, Colonel Gathafi explained: "Municipalities people's committees must have control over security systems to be used in the service of the masses.

"These systems are no longer general central systems giving orders to regional branches in order to control and dominate the masses, as was the case in the past, but they have been completely dissolved including their central structure to become tools in the hands of people's committees for justice in the municipalities and subject to the authority of the people and used for their benefit." Col. Gathafi said.

"There is no place for negligence under the authority of the people and only the naive and the ignorant would believe that dissolving central security systems will enable them to practise crime.

"Negligence existed in the past because all security measures were central and decided centrally, but now peop-

le's committees for justice in the municipalities will take over this task, without waiting for orders or instructions from any source to implement the resolutions of people's congresses since the complete authority is now in the hands of the masses and is practised through peoples congresses and committees, the

peoples committees will have to act swiftly within the limits of their municipalities.

"This is one of the aims of popular democracy. The people who govern themselves are capable of using everything for their own benefit and control every system to achieve this.

"These systems are no longer at the service of a governmental or individual regime, as was the case in the past, when the police was used to repress the masses in order to maintain a governmental regime, a king or a president.

"Any individual, not capable of accepting the people's authority will have to leave public services positions. Nevertheless wherever he moves, he will find the masses before him.

"The authority over these tools — security systems — must be tightened in order to employ them completely at the service of the masses. negligence will open the door to dictatorship.

"Crime counters freedom and to abolish crime is to consolidate freedom. Now that security bodies are under the people's authority, it is easy to combat crime completely.

A free man is he who conforms to moral standards driven by his self-motive without being forced to do so. Those who do not respect these standards — unless forced to — are only slaves and do not deserve to be free.

"To deter and to strike at criminals is the responsibility of all the masses and we are not intimidated nor reluctant

to take any measure or action in order to reinforce the people's authority. The smuggler is as much a criminal as the corrupt and thieves because all commit criminal offences.

Freedom and security cannot prevail unless criminals like the corrupt thieves, dictators and smugglers are eliminated. Only then can freedom be reinforced and fear disappears.

"Behind a crime lie causes and motives which will be eliminated by the revolutionary transformation. Need which is a possible motive for stealing has now been eliminated. Hence when prosperity prevails all causes behind social diseases resulting from class differences, exploitation and bourgeois society disappear.

CSO: 4820

BASIC PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES MEETING

Valletta THE JAMAHIRIYA MAIL in English 31 May 80 p 1

[Text] The Basic People's Congresses throughout the Jamahiriya have resumed their meeting of the 1st regular session this year. The masses are discussing reviewing the following up the recommendations and resolutions of their previous congresses. They started to draw up the agenda of this session.

A member of the Palestinian General People's Congress made the following speech:

"On this memorable day in which the Palestinian General People's Congress meets in the Jamahiriya for the first time, the Palestinian Arab people hail Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, pioneer of the era of the masses and the revolutionary Arab leader.

He was the one to make a revolution appeal on the day of world solidarity with the Palestinian people and to invite the Palestinian masses to form their revolutionary committees and people's congresses which have been fulfilled on this day.

It is a great honour for us, Palestinians, to see our efforts and those of all Arab revolutionaries result in the meeting of the Palestinian general people's congress today. The Palestinian people have taken a daring step on the path of the Arab revolution when they decided to set up the people's authority

had to bring about the congress meeting to draft the basic people's congresses' resolutions and basic people's recommendations for 1980.

Why adopt the people's authority on the Palestinian arena? Why form revolutionary Committees and people's congress?

To answer these questions we should establish one primary fact: the Palestinian people have shaken the whole world when they took their own fate in their hands and began their revolution in 1936. But unfortunately this revolution was aborted by Arab regimes and parties leading to the loss of Palestine in 1948. Again in the sixties our people supported the Palestinian resistance for they were aware of the necessity to mobilise all their masses to launch their liberation struggle.

However the Palestinian revolution has met with a great deal of obstacles.

It is because of this reality and because of the Arabs' lethargy and imperialist con-

spiracies against the Arab and Palestinian cause that the Palestinian people's authority has emerged in the Jamahiriya.

This authority will prepare the masses to escalate the revolution mainly at the military level in support of our people who are fighting with determination in the occupied land.

The establishment of this authority marks a sound beginning for mobilising the Palestinian masses to liberate Palestine. This responsibility should be shouldered by every citizen without any exception.

It is a sound beginning to free the Palestinian people from control and dictatorship. Furthermore this authority is the only way to liberate Palestine since through it alone can an armed struggle be carried out to abolish all obstacles hindering the Palestinian masses' revolution.

The establishment of the Palestinian people's authority can lead the Arab masses to unity and to the elimination of division, regionalism and subordination to colonialists.

This authority constitutes an adherence to the Libyan Arab people not only in the Jamahiriya but throughout the Arab countries at all time and under any circumstances under the slogan partners and not allies.

It embodies the will of the Palestinian masses who suffered oppression at the hands of reaction and colonialism and were driven away from their homes. It is not aimed against any special faction or individualism, but embodies our people's right to freedom and justice.

The authority of the Palestinian people represents the masses' will which cannot be defeated no bargained and their call for man's freedom and liberation.

QADHDHAFI COMMENTS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

Valletta THE JAMAHIRIYA MAIL in English 7 Jun 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] Colonel Gathafi has affirmed that people's power is the sole guarantee for security and justice against crime because the masses can act quickly without waiting for order from anybody or any authority to take the necessary measures against crimes.

In a statement before the General People's Committee for Justice, he said that the justice people's committees in the municipalities should control the security services and to run them in the interest of the masses. These services should become therefore general central bodies which issue orders to their branches to enable them to dominate the masses as were the case in the bygone era. Such oppressive services were dissolved once and for all and they have been under the control of the justice people's committees of the municipalities, under the control of the people who use them within their own interest.

Colonel Gathafi added that under people's power there is no place for neglect. Only the ignorant and naive people think that once these oppressive services are abolished or brought under the masses control, they can commit crimes and harm people security.

He explained that if neglect was widespread in the past, this is because all security measures were centralised. But, he continued,

the municipal justice committees will now carry out the task without relay, orders or instructions from anyone.

Colonel Gathafi stressed the necessity of speeding up the decisions on the cases before the courts so that the masses interest would not be affected. He said as the authority has become now and the hands of the masses which practice it through the peoples committee, the peoples committees should carry out these duties within their municipalities in a quick manner. This is one of direct democracy's goals.

He added that the people who rule themselves are able to run everything for his benefit controlling all organisations to achieve this. Those organised are no longer serving a regime or an individual as they used to be in the past. In the past police were used to oppress the masses in order to safeguard the regime and the king or the president or any persons who refused the power of the masses over him. But the masses are here and are everywhere. The masses power and authority over these organisations should be con-

solidated in order that these organisations should be exploited full in the service of the masses. Any hesitation will lead to negligence and confidence in the peoples authority will be lost and dictatorship will appear. He said we should take every measures and carry out every work in the benefit of the masses. The control of these organisations is a task carried out for the benefit of the masses and victory of freedom.

He elaborated that the general services of the General Peoples Committee for justice are not higher than the rest of the justice peoples committee but are merely coordination and liaison bodies. Therefore the justice secretary cannot take any decision or measure.

"And he is only to implement what the masses have decided upon." Colonel Gathafi said while strongly stressing the necessity to eradicate crime and not to be soft with the criminals, because crime and freedom contradict each other. And since security apparatus are under the masses control, crime has been eradicated and became under control too.

He added that a free person is the one who is convicted to moral principles voluntarily. But those who have been and forced to do so, are slaves and do not deserve freedom. Colonel Gathafi added that deterring and beating up criminals is the duty of the masses and the peoples committees for justice are capable of punishing and eradicating completely the criminals.

The smuggler is a thief and should be maltreated.

Colonel Gathafi went on to say we will not be ashamed or hesitate to take any measures or action in order to consolidate the peoples power so the smuggler is a

criminal and the exploited is a criminal, the robber is a criminal and the exploiter is a criminal. All those are criminals and freedom can only spread when such people are eliminated, without exception, they corrected the robber, the dictator, the smuggler. Only then can security be guaranteed, freedom achieved and fear disappear. So arresting the criminals, jailing them and tying them is the only way to stamp out crimes, dispel fear and consolidate freedom.

Colonel Gathafi explained that crimes have motives and reasons which social transformation removes. Thus if need was the motive for robbery, this motive has disappeared. As welfare becomes general then these motives will disappear. Because they are the result of the social diseases which stem from class competition, exploitation and the bourgeois society.

Colonel Gathafi explained that the new civilization which the masses establish nowadays has its evaluation of the biological process. Eating for example, is a biological process which should not be done in streets. It has its proper place. If we accept eating in the streets we should accept doing all other biological activities in the streets. The evaluation of this biological activities has direct effect on people. People who could not assess this process properly became weak and Americans and Israelis enslaved them and turned them into sheep.

Colonel Gathafi affirmed that the masses should realize the necessity of destroying the traditional security organisation and the victory achieved in this field. If the masses failed to realize these radical changes the door will be open in front of these organizations to come back again in the absence of the masses awareness.

STATE RUN INFORMATION AGENCY

Valletta THE JAMHURIYA MAIL in English 31 May 80 p 5

[Text] Colonel Muammar Gathafi, leader of the great 1st September Revolution affirmed that information run by a people's committee is the ultimate form which information must assume in a society of the masses.

In his meeting with the People's Committee for Information, Colonel Gathafi stressed that information in the state of revolutionary transformation should be under the control of a revolutionary committee. As soon as the transformation period is over and congresses become aware of their responsibilities information will automatically run smoothly.

Although information in a period of revolutionary transformation has an important role to play it can nevertheless be an obstacle in which case it would become a historical error. This obstacle is caused by a representation in new forms of images from the past where exploitation, class difference dictatorships and violence prevailed.

What should be done is to destroy previous social structures completely and to set up an alternative society which should not be an imitation of the previous one because imitation is a recurrence of the previous society that of exploitation and dictatorship.

Imitation leads to the opposite direction to the state of the masses. The Role of information as a whole is a difficult one and can be carried out radically and not through reform.

Accordingly, the revolution will affect the theatre, theatrical groups, information programmes and printing offices as the revolutionary.

Control alone can lead to a revolutionary remedy of the sector.

ARMY LEADER TOURS EAST EUROPE

Valletta, THE JAMAHIRIYA MAIL in English 7 Jun 80 p 12

[Text] Brigadier Abu Bakr Younis Jaber, General Commander of the Jamahiriya Armed Forces, has during the last days been visiting East European countries. The four countries involved have been Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. Brig. Jaber received warm welcomes at each country he visited.

The official tour started with Sofia, where he had talks with the Prime Minister. A farewell banquet was given in his honour. Seeing him off at the airport were Mr Dobri Djourov, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and Minister of Defence, senior military personnel and members of the People's Committee for the Libyan Arab People's Bureau in Sofia.

In Czechoslovakia, Brig Jaber had talks with the Prime Minister Mr Lubomir Strougal in Prague. Discussions during the meeting, also attended by the Czech Defence Minister, concentrated on bilateral cooperation and means of bolstering it.

Later, Czech President Dr Gustav Husak received Brigadier Jaber in the Presidential Palace. The meeting was also attended by the Minister of National Defence and the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau. It dealt with cooperation between the two countries.

In Prague, the Libyan General Commander laid a wreath on the monument of the unknown soldier, while at Brno, another Czech city, he opened a camp for Libyan students. The camp, run by the revolutionary student forces in cooperation with the Libyan Arab People's Bureau in Prague, held four days of activities.

During the opening speech Brig Jaber said that the Jamahiriya pins high hopes on students abroad. He said that they have a big role to play, especially in advanced technical fields.

Brig Jaber said that students abroad should be armed with the revolution's ideology and should disseminate the idea of the era and the masses and talk about the accomplishments of the Al-Fateh revolution.

He urged students to increase efforts to realise the goals for which they were sent abroad.

In Prague, Brig. Jaber met the Secretary and members of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau. He urged them to exert further efforts in a bid to strengthen relations between the Libyan Arab and Czech peoples under the aegis of the popular will and direct democracy practised in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Brig. Jaber also stressed the need for disseminating the Green Book's ideas and carrying the experiment of direct democracy to the Czechoslovak people.

The third stop was Hungary, where he was warmly welcomed by the Hungarian Minister of Defence, officers of the Hungarian Armed Forces, the Libyan Arab ambassador and members of the embassy in Hungary.

Mr Janos Kadar, Hungarian head of state, was among those who received Brig. Jaber. In the presence of the Hungarian Defence Minister, the Jamahiriya ambassador and the Hungarian ambassador to the Jamahiriya, bilateral cooperation was discussed.

Later the commander of the Libyan forces was received by Mr Gyorgy Lazar, Hungarian Prime Minister. The two ambassadors were also present.

Talks were also held between Brig. Jaber and the Hungarian Minister of De-

fence. Methods of bolstering bilateral cooperation were discussed.

Brig. Jaber visited the Hungarian Military Academy.

A banquet was also given in Budapest in honour of Brigadier Jaber. He pointed out during a speech at the banquet that the Jamahiriya had seen huge achievements after the outbreak of the Al-Fateh revolution and are now waging a social revolution to abort the bourgeois society inherited from the toppled monarchy.

"Imperialism is launching an offensive in the Arab world to deal a blow to progressive forces."

Brigadier Jaber pledged the Jamahiriya's support to all progressive forces and liberation movements in the world struggling against colonialism, Zionism and racism.

The Hungarian Defence Minister welcomed the Libyan Arab delegation to Hungary and said that his country highly appreciated the revolutionary measures and huge achievements of the Jamahiriya.

Greeting Brig. Jaber on his arrival in Yugoslavia were General Nikola Ljubicic, the Yugoslav Defence Minister, the Army Chief of Staff and members of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau in Belgrade, and senior military officers of the Yugoslav Army.

BRIEFS

COUNTRYMEN RETURNING HOME--A large number of Libyans have returned home to the Jamahiriya, following the call of the Libyan revolutionary leader, Colonel Mu'Ammar Gathafi, to do so, the official Jamahiriya News Agency reports. Col Gathafi said that Libyans living abroad should return to their homeland, unless they have a specific purpose to live abroad, by June 11. If not, they will have to face the consequences. The Libyans who have returned back have been welcomed with open arms, and will be given every opportunity to settle in their old home. Popular committees outside the Jamahiriya have made it clear that those Libyans wanting to return home were to be given every help and opportunity to do so. [Text] [Valletta THE JAMAHIRIYA MAIL in English 14 Jun 80 p 1]

FINNS BUILD SUN-POWER VILLAGE--The DEVECON [expansion unknown] Company, which is right now planning the 40,000-inhabitant town of Ras Lanuf for Libya, has been given the job of drafting the plans for a model construction project consisting of about 100 houses which will make use of solar energy. During the preliminary study, the feasibility of different ways of utilizing solar energy under the conditions existing in Libya are to be explored. DEVECON says that an actual construction plan, supervision of construction as well as survey and research jobs extending over several years in conjunction with Libyan experts, will later be incorporated into the project. Libya belongs to one of the regions that receives the most solar energy in the world and in that country they are already setting their sights on the future, when its at present large deposits of gas and oil will begin to be depleted. The heating and cooling of buildings are being studied from both passive and active standpoints and from those of both concentrated and dispersed solutions, and in addition the possibilities of also developing electricity through solar energy. The test project will be carried out in Ras Lanuf. [Text] [Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 7 Jun 80 p 5] 11466

CSO: 3107

PRIME MINISTER REVIEWS YEAR OF PROGRESS

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 4 Apr 80 pp 1-2

[Text] During an interview with MATIN, the prime minister presented the balance sheet his past year as the head of government.

It was a positive balance sheet. In spite of the impact of the international economic situation, progress was made in all sectors. The prime minister said: "It is not a question of falling into facile alarmism. It is true that the world is now going through an economic and particularly acute financial crisis which results from successive oil price rises with all their repercussions on prices, production and employment. The consequences for countries which do not produce oil are even more dramatic, especially among the developing countries. Of course, Morocco is not escaping from this trend; however, it is not in a crisis."

Mr Bouabid went on to say: "His majesty's government is aware of all these problems and has done everything possible to ease the shortfalls. The year 1979 was marked by the continuation of the policy of corrective [assainissement] action already undertaken. The measures adopted by the public authorities, which are aimed at containing overall demand in order to reduce the pressures which are being exerted on prices and the balance of payments, have produced appreciable results which are perceptible in various economic and financial indicators.

"This year, there will continue to be an improvement in the basic balances of our economy with a view to realizing our objectives of promoting economic and social development."

The prime minister also said that, in spite of the world economic crisis, Morocco experienced positive results in improving its financial situation.

He mentioned the fiscal reform plan which will result in a better distribution of the fiscal burden rather than an increase in pressure. This reform will be based on the principle: "Equal revenues, equal taxes."

Maati Bouabid also recalled the actions undertaken during the past year and the operations initiated:

1) in the social sector:

An increase in salaries and wages effective in May 1979.

A 50 percent increase in family allowances.

Pensions for temporary state employees.

More effective price control and rectification of the commercialization channels.

2) Economic recovery:

Distribution of credit of 1 billion dirhams, reserved for communities for the fiscal years 1979 and 1980.

Study of 25 industrialized areas (including six priority areas in Tetouan, Nador, Oujda, Marrakesh, Fes and Sale).

Initiation of two major projects: the Nador chemical complex and the building of "Jorf Lasfar."

Implementation of the Meskala phosphate plan.

Promotion of small- and medium-size industries.

Establishment of an economic and social council.

3) Measures on behalf of housing:

Initiation of the Rabat urban renewal project (60,000 persons are involved).

200 state developments are now being set up via the various prefectures and provinces.

600 housing units were built in the Saharan provinces (200 in Smara, 100 in Boujdour and 300 in El Ayoun).

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CSO: 4400

MINISTER REVIEWS PLANNED WATER, POWER PROJECTS

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 8 Apr 80 p 3

[Excerpts] Rabat (MAP)--M'Hamed Douiri, minister of equipment and national development, chaired a meeting of the national equipment commission Monday afternoon in his department's main office.

In a speech delivered on that occasion, M'Hamed Douiri said: "The plan of action of the Ministry of Equipment and National Development, as regards the preparation of the 5-year plan, is based on the definition of the objectives which were instrumental in its elaboration and in the choice of the operations of which it is made up, in accordance with the guidelines set forth by his majesty."

Ports

On the subject of port infrastructures, Douiri said: "Morocco's strategic maritime position and the length of its coasts (3,500 km) should invite the country to turn toward the sea. The equipment commission is unanimous in its belief that Morocco should have a small fishing port every 50 km along its coast and a large port every 200 km. The guidelines used by the commission involve the preservation of our national port heritage, completion of work started during the previous two plans (Casablanca, Jorf Lasfar...), expansion of existing fishing ports, expansion of ports engaged in commercial activities, construction of new ports (Ifni, Laayoune, Boujdour), study of new projects (Cape Smir, south of Boujdour) and, finally, the fitting out of all these ports with modern equipment."

Roads

Speaking of the road sector, Douiri said: "The national highway network includes 25,000 km, including 15,000 km of principal and secondary roads and 10,000 km of tertiary roads. The goal is to build 50,000 km of new roads from now to the year 2000, in the main executed by the National Development Ministry.

"The guidelines used by the commission in this regard involve the preservation of the national heritage through an improvement of road safety,

development of the road network for regional and local use, adaptation of the network for increased traffic, execution of the infrastructures relating to the major development projects and, finally, linking remote regions with the national network.

"The program of the next plan (1981-85) will involve the construction of 1,500 km of principal roads, 800 km of secondary roads and 14,000 km of tertiary roads."

Water Resources and the Production of Potable Water

Speaking about exploration for and the production of potable water, Douiri announced: "The plan envisages the utilization of all known resources by 2000; therefore, it must take into consideration:

"The need for doubling the resources made available over half a century, from now to the year 2000, with only one half of the goal met. Specifically, this involves increasing the annual meters drilled [force] from 10,000 to 30,000 meters, including 12,500 meters of open-air [al'air] drilling to be executed in arid and semiarid regions."

Water Developments

"Taking advantage of the break period in the 3-year plan, 1978-80, the services of the Ministry of Equipment and National Development conducted an exhaustive study of the problems being experienced by the sector. To resolve these problems, the services intend to base their program on the following premises: Assurance of our energy independence and reduction of the size of our imports of petroleum products through the construction of facilities which will permit the utilization of the totality of our hydroelectric potential of which only one-third is utilized at present.

"Some 85 percent of electric energy production in 1955 was hydraulic in origin; in 1973, hydroelectric energy covered only 36 percent of the production. This is a serious situation at a time when Morocco is making a major effort to reduce the size of its imports and when petroleum products are increasing at a dizzying pace. The public authorities are now undertaking numerous studies and research to find a solution which will make use of national resources (new types of energy, renewable energy, bituminous schists).

"However, the studies which have been undertaken are slow; and the problem cannot be resolved over the short-term except by water projects. Over the long-term, harnessed waterfalls are practically the only sources of energy capable of responding with assurance and flexibility to the peak hours of demand. What is more, this kind of energy most often is a by-product of agriculture (multipurpose dams) obtained at a price which defies all competition." Within this framework, the minister of equipment and national development proposes a certain number of projects whose completion will permit the above-mentioned objectives to be met. These involve dams at M'Jara, M'dez, Dcher el Oued and M'Rija.

As for the fight against the disparities between regions, M'Hamed Douiri announced: "This problem is of such gravity that His Majesty Hassan II did not fail to bring it up in his speech from the throne on 3 March 1980.

"To resolve this problem, we must give priority to small dams which provide local service."

In order to implement these guidelines, the Ministry of Equipment and National Development proposes to keep in the next plan the dams at Kaddoussa, Chegg, el Ard, Hachee and the small, high-tide spreading dams in the provinces of Errachidia, Ouarzazate Tata and Guelmim.

Under this concept, the minister of equipment and national development proposes to go ahead with dams at Martil, Touahar, Sidi Ifni and Imi Mikki.

Within the framework of the development of the key sectors of the national economy, by harnessing water in sufficient quantities to meet their needs, the Ministry of Equipment and National Development also proposes to retain Safi, Merader and Kaob and the bituminous schists.

The integrated development policy for the water basins represents an advance over the traditional policy of harnessing waterways and is a first stage in moving to the idea of water regions, which is the only plan capable of providing the desired interregional equilibrium.

Within this framework, we propose the dams at Ait Chouarir, M'Jara, for retention [garde] of the Sebou.

Harnessing of 6 Billion Cubic Meters

"This program," Douiri concluded, "will permit the harnessing of 6.5 billion cubic meters of water during the next plan to be used for an installed power capability of 700,000 kilowatts and production of 1.5 billion kilowatt hours, which will be an equivalent savings of 350,000 tons of oil per year."

In regard to national development, Douiri said: "Twenty years after the establishment of the National Development Ministry, it is interesting to recall its objectives, which are still important and vital:

"Utilization of the existing human energy in executing economically and socially productive projects; and

"Attenuation of the rural exodus.

"These objectives are in consonance with the desires of the government of his majesty, the king. The department's policy in this sector is as follows:

"Strengthening the equipment workshops, with the Ministry of Interior responsible for those in the local communities; extension of the initiative to workshops which have not yet been tested by the National Development Ministry; execution of projects which respond to the wishes of the people and are selected in common accord with the community and provincial councils and extension of this procedure to other ministries."

The ministry is programming 100,000 laborers per year during the next plan, most of whom will work in the Sahara provinces and in the disadvantaged regions.

Let us note, moreover, that the national development commission, which is made up of representatives of several ministerial departments and heads of the various services of the Ministry of Equipment and National Development, started preparatory work on the next plan (1981-85), on 13 February 1980.

8143

CSO: 4400

SEMINAR ON MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE NOTES GREATEST NEEDS

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 5 Apr 80 p 3

[Text] Rabat (MAP)--The seminar on the mechanization of agriculture in Morocco, which began Thursday at the Hassan II National Agronomic and Veterinary Institute, completed its work Friday evening with the publication of several recommendations.

The seminar, which was inaugurated Thursday by Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Abdellatif Ghissassi, was organized by the National Association of Land Improvement, Irrigation and Drainage (ANAFID), the National Association for Plant Production, Protection and Improvement (ANAPPAV) and the Moroccan Association of Merchants Importing Agricultural Equipment (ANIMA).

The text of the recommendations adopted at the end of the seminar is as follows:

"The ANAFID, ANAPAV, ANIMA and the participants in the seminar on the mechanization of agriculture in Morocco, which was held on 3-4 April 1980 at the Hassan II Agronomic and Veterinary Institute, make note of the many efforts exerted by the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform to develop Moroccan agriculture with a view to assuring food self-sufficiency.

"Observe that the present national inventory of agricultural equipment is qualitatively [?quantitatively] inadequate (22,000 tractors) and at the end of the seminar recommend that the number of tractors be increased progressively to 70,000 by 1990, along with the accessory equipment needed to attain this necessary objective.

"Improve the land structures to create viable units capable of using agricultural equipment rationally.

"Generalize the granting of credit for the purchase of agricultural equipment destined for production, ease the procedures for obtaining credit and increase the sources of same.

"Exempt agricultural production equipment from all assessments and taxes.

"Invite the profession to improve its post-sales services, stocking of spare parts and judicious selection of material introduced into the country.

"Encourage the development of a national agricultural equipment industry.

"Complete the existing training in the mechanization of the agriculture sector to the level of engineers and technical assistants by establishing regional apprenticeship centers for the utilization and maintenance of agricultural machinery.

"Develop research and experimentation centers to study adequate cultivation techniques and appropriate equipment, in cooperation with training and research, the profession, users and the services of the interested ministerial departments.

"Encourage the installation at the local level, near the user, of a repair shop run by qualified mechanics. To this end, the National Agricultural Credit Bank and the profession should provide the required material assistance.

"Develop agricultural and common usage of agricultural equipment cooperatives, as well as agricultural work enterprises.

"Develop and improve small, animal-powered equipment.

"Draw up an agricultural investment code for the rain-fed [bour] regions patterned after that of the irrigated regions.

"In consideration of the effectiveness of holding such seminars, it is hoped that the fruitful cooperation existing between the various parties interested in the mechanization of agriculture will be institutionalized in the future by the creation of a national commission for agricultural mechanization."

8143

CSO: 4400

TOMATO EXPORTS GETTING UNFAIR TREATMENT ON EUROPEAN MARKET

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 3 Apr 80 p 2

[Text] Brussels, 2 Apr (MAP)--The head of the Kingdom of Morocco's representation in Brussels and his majesty's ambassador to Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Zine El Abidine Sebtî, has undertaken demarches particularly with the Brussels commission on the subject of the setting of a new reference price for tomatoes by the College of Brussels.

The prices, which have just been set, in fact, represent increases of 4.924 percent for the month of April and 6.45 percent for the month of May, compared to prices for the 1979 season.

In Sebtî's opinion, it is quite evident that this upward price spiral is becoming unbearable for the export of Moroccan spring tomatoes, whose flow to market is becoming increasingly difficult. The evolution of tonnages exported to the Common Market starting on 1 April is illustrative of this fact:

1972-73:	80,168 tons;
1973-74:	64,105 tons;
1974-75:	52,391 tons;
1975-76:	41,139 tons;
1976-77:	39,160 tons;
1977-78:	37,113 tons;
1978-79:	30,678 tons.

These figures illustrate the degree of the damage done to Morocco and the negative effects which successive increases in the reference price, to which must be added the aggravation due to the modification of the varietal coefficient of adaptation, have caused Moroccan exporters. From 64 units of account (1 unit of account = 545 dirhams) in 1973, the reference price level increased to 108.36 units of account in 1979 and to 114.54 units of account, corresponding to 137.45 European currency units in 1980; i.e., an increase of 79.98 percent in 7 years. The price rise which has just taken place will be translated into the amputation of the Moroccan export potential, as the result of an adaptation which constrains supply with

respect to the prices to be respected upon entry into the Community, without taking into account the harm that it could have on production receipts due to the possible application of compensatory taxes. Under the circumstances, the economic advantage (tariff concession) from which Morocco benefits within the framework of the cooperation agreement would no longer be of great significance.

Let us recall that the representative of Morocco has already had occasion to draw the commission's attention to the negative impact of measures it adopted with respect to the commercialization of Moroccan tomatoes. The representative placed particular emphasis during exploratory talks, which took place in Brussels during May 1979 within the framework of reexamining the agreement, on the extreme sensitivity of a sector which employs nearly 150,000 persons in Morocco and which has 8,000 growers utilizing an average exploitation area of 2-3 hectares.

The representative of the Kingdom of Morocco will once again attempt to express its concern over the degradation of a situation which in time could result in the de facto closing of the Common Market [garbled text] possibility places the evidence particularly in relief in the perspective of expanding the Community.

8143

CS0: 4400

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH USSR--Rabat, 30 Mar (MAP)--Yesterday morning in his departmental office, Azzeddine Guessous, minister of commerce, industry, merchant marine and maritime fishing, received Evgueni Nersessov, USSR ambassador to Rabat, who was accompanied by Mr Ter Minassov, that embassy's commercial attache. The talk with the Soviet diplomat covered the various sectors of economic cooperation between the two countries, particularly maritime fishing and commercial exchanges. Azzeddine Guessous placed emphasis on the ways and means of developing this cooperation even more, especially the establishment of joint companies. The ambassador mentioned the upcoming meeting of the Moroccan-Soviet intergovernmental commission. Preparatory meetings between officials of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, Merchant Marine, and Maritime Fishing and Soviet officials are to be held in the near future. A decision was also made to send a Moroccan delegation, comprising both public and private officials in the maritime fishing sector, to finalize the cooperation for which provision was made in the fishing agreement linking the two countries. [Text] [Casablanca MAROC SOIR 31 Mar 80 p 15] 8143

KUWAIT INVESTMENTS AGREEMENT--An investments guarantee agreement between Morocco and Kuwait was signed Thursday morning in the office of the Ministry of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. This agreement, which is the first of its kind between Morocco and an Arab country, was signed for Morocco by M'Hamed Tazi, director of the treasury and foreign finances in the Ministry of Finance, and Ahmed Ali Duaeji, president of the council of administration of the Kuwait Real Estate Investment Consortium (KREIC), for Kuwait. [Excerpt] [Rabat L'OPINION in French 7 Apr 80 p 2] 8143

IDB LOAN--Saturday, the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) granted a loan of \$15 million to Morocco to finance the purchase of crude oil from the Petromin [Ministry of Petroleum], according to a report made by the Saudi Information Agency. The Agency states that the agreement was signed by the director of the bank, Ahmed Mohamed Ali, and the representative of the Bank of Morocco, Mohamed al-Ghazi. [Text] [Rabat L'OPINION in French 7 Apr 80 p 1] 8143

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

ECONOMY SEEN AS CENTRAL PROBLEM FOR NATION

Aden AL-THAWRI in Arabic 26 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Eighth Session of Central Committee: Comprehensive Pause Before Economic Situation"]

[Text] The Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee concluded the works of its eighth ordinary session last Wednesday evening. The session was held under the chairmanship of comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, the Central Committee's secretary general, the deputy chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly and the prime minister.

The session dealt with a number of political and partisan issues, devoted special attention to the current conditions of the national economy and studied the measures and steps capable of boosting our national economy and bolstering its firm foundations on the path of completing the tasks of the national democratic revolution with its socialist dimensions.

The Central Committee's lengthy discussions on the successes and falterings of the national economy have shed light on this issue as a political issue primarily. On our success in solving this issue in the interest of the masses relies the bolstering of our progressive regime and its transformation into a live model that attracts with its ideals the struggling peoples of our Arab area toward liberation, democracy and social progress.

The general direction of the discussions has demonstrated that our party's economic policy--a policy based on the working class' ideology of scientific socialism--represents the interests of the toilers and guarantees in its immediate and long-term goals the comprehensive and constant development of the citizen's material and spiritual life.

This policy has realized a number of tangible positive results in laying down the foundations of a national economy which is liberated from subservience to the international capitalist market and in which the various forms of social ownership, led by the state sector, hold a leading and decisive position in determining the dimensions of the socialist-oriented social democratic

relations, in providing work opportunities to every citizen, in increasing the individual's share of the national income and in stabilizing prices of consumer commodities for the citizen despite the severe inflation and high prices sweeping a number of countries.

But the problem lies fundamentally in some aspects of the faulty implementation of this economic policy. The reports presented to the session and representing the outcome of the collective efforts of a number of workers and specialists in the various branches of the national economy have defined these faults in the poor economic management in the various forms and means of leading the national economy.

Perhaps one of the most evident negative aspects of our economic management is the poor distribution of skilled and unskilled manpower and specialized manpower. Many of our establishments lack a sound and rational distribution based on recognizing the actual requirements needed by every establishment to organize its work. This poor management is also evident in the low standard of the scientific planning for running the economic establishments which curtails the ability of the establishments to implement the economic and social development plans. The effects of this low standard of scientific planning appear in the uneconomic operation of many of our establishments, in the misuse of and lack of maintenance for machinery and in the poor systems of product preservation and marketing, all of which cause enormous losses to the national economy.

These drawbacks are the result of two main reasons. The first reason is connected with the generally low standard of social, economic and cultural awareness among broad sectors of the producers of the material goods--sectors that constitute the main force implementing this policy. This requires the exertion of efforts to improve these sectors' awareness of the economic policy and of the executive decisions entrenching this policy with the aim of achieving this policy in the tangible reality. It is also required that efforts be exerted to improve these sectors' awareness of the importance of planning and of the economic use of time and of the material resources in production. It is also required that attention be devoted to qualifying and developing the standard of the leadership cadres managing the economic establishments to make sure that they absorb the modern scientific means and methods of managing the production operations and storing, preserving and marketing products according to the market needs and to the tastes of consumers.

The second reason is due to the failure to implement the two principles of control and of bringing to account. This has made it possible for the cases of negligence, indifference and lack of discipline to spread in the attitude toward work and toward maintenance of the public property. This is something that obstructs the progress that our people aspire for on the economic front.

The Central Committee's discussions in this regard have stressed that creating the conditions for applying the two principles of control and of

bringing to account requires the correct combining of personal responsibility with collective responsibility so as to make it possible for every individual to carry out his duties within the framework of his powers and tasks without allowing this to be in conflict under any circumstances with the democratic management forms that have become one of the established traditions of our society's new life.

The personal responsibility of a utility director, a section head, a work supervisor or a worker differs in kind and degree and varies from one establishment to another. However, the presence of this responsibility means the presence of a center that shoulders primarily the responsibility of managing this utility in accordance with the party's instructions and the plans of the state's executive agencies. This center should be accountable to the higher state authorities for implementing the plans and for the positive and negative results produced under his management. Therefore, this center (manager) should be in charge of supervising his subordinates and of bringing them to account, else personal responsibility loses its meaning and management loses its organizing and directing element.

Personal responsibility does not mean absolute management control by the individual. The laws and bylaws regulating the work of our country's various economic establishments help prevent such absolutism through representation of the party's base organization and of the union in the executive board. The base and the union can thus express their views on the various issues connected with the organization of production in particular and on the economic establishment's affairs generally. The democratic management principles also guarantee the right of the producers to formulate the plans and to discuss the means of their implementation. All this guarantees effectively the presence of an effective popular control over the activities of the economic establishments, establishes firm links between the exercise of personal responsibility and the exercise of collective responsibility, provides an important condition for bringing to accurate and strict account those who fail to perform their duties and responsibilities and helps to award and honor those who work seriously.

The Central Committee has been asserting constantly that the responsibility of the party cadres and members in the economic front is escalating, that the tasks of their daily political and ideological activities are defined in the tasks of building the economic and social structure and that the meaning of our propaganda and our agitative [tahrirdiyah] means becomes more closely linked to the tasks of explaining the party's economic policy, of crystallizing its goals and of mobilizing the masses of toilers to implement this policy on the basis of their awareness and conviction that every success, regardless of how small, in any branch of the national economy is a step toward our people's progress and prosperity.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

MINISTER SURVEYS DIVERSE PROBLEMS FACING INDUSTRY

Aden 14 OCTOBER in Arabic 28 Apr 80 p 2

[Interview With 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Qadir, Minister of Industry, by "Umar Bawazir; "Industrial Sector; Minister of Industry: Most Important Problems of Industry Sector; Lack of Economic Feasibility Studies and Inaccuracy of Some of These Studies; Technological Backwardness and Unavailability of Cadre; We Are Exerting Efforts to Deal With Problems"]

[Text] Our previous articles on the industrial sector have covered numerous issues and causes that have obstructed and continue to obstruct the work of this important sector in economic development and that have constituted most often stumbling blocks preventing completion of the plans and, thus, helping lower productivity.

These articles have also dealt with the Ministry of Industry's current goals of eliminating the financial deficit experienced by the public sector plants in the preceding period, as well as eliminating the problems and concerns of these plants and dealing with their relationship with the Domestic Trade Company.

To crown our reports on some of the industrial utilities, we have held this interview with comrade 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Qadir, the Central Committee member and the minister of industry. The interview deals with some issues concerning this sector.

[Question] What are the most important problems of the industry and what are your visualizations for solving these problems?

[Answer] There are numerous problems obstructing the work of the public sector plants. These problems are embodied in:

The lack of economic feasibility studies for some plants and the inaccuracy of some of the studies made, such as the study on the soap plant and the oils plant in Abyan Governorate.

The lack of a leadership cadre for this sector.

The technological backwardness of some plants.

Solutions

In some plants, we have taken into consideration the need for these plants to diversify their production as a result of the limited market and of the impossibility of marketing one or two of their products in the local market.

As for technological backwardness, we are thinking of developing these plants. We now have an idea to conduct a study to develop the textile plant and the Public Salt Establishment in order to increase the machinery, reduce manpower and enhance productivity.

As for the cadre problem, the ministry has a program for training its cadres at home and abroad and for employing foreign expertise for short periods. We are currently coordinating in this regard with the GDR and India.

[Question] What about protecting the national products?

[Answer] Any developing industry needs protection. Most countries protect their local products from [the competition of] foreign products. Such protection comes through levying high taxes on imported goods similar to local products. This, in our opinion, is supposed to be tackled through coordination among the ministries of trade, supply, finance and industry.

Currently, some products, such as cigarettes and matches, are protected. Several measures have also been taken to protect the products of the textile plant. Generally, we can say that the local products need protection against some similar products imported from abroad illegally.

[Question] What is your evaluation of the joint sector and private sector experiment in the field of industry?

[Answer] On this issue, it can be said that the experiment of the joint sector plants generally can be considered successful and most plants founded according to this pattern realize good profits. The managements of these plants have been able to realize tangible development in the work of the plants. We in the ministry feel satisfied with the conditions of these plants. However, these plants also suffer from some of the problems experienced by the public sector plants, such as the problem of low utilization of the production capacity, the problem of the technological backwardness of some of the plants, the problem of limited skilled technical expertise and the problem of a limited market.

As for the private sector plants, even though their industrial production is simple, it is not useful. This production is based most often on imported raw materials. Therefore, these plants can be characterized as a replacement for imports. This industry has its advantages and its drawbacks. Its drawbacks are embodied in the fact that this industry relies on imported raw materials whose prices change constantly. But on the other hand, new

industries are made familiar, experience is gained in the production of some goods and savings are made by importing such goods as semi-processed goods. If the current prices of some of these goods are high at present in comparison to imported goods, then this is due to inefficiency in production and in the operation of the plants.

[Question] What about the industrial sector's future?

[Answer] To start with, it can be said that supremacy of the industrial sector in the national economy characterizes any modern society because industry is the advanced economic activity that produces a surplus in production and that contributes largely to the national income and the individual income. But certain conditions must be present for the industry to be developed, such as raw materials which are the basic factor in the industrial process, trained and skilled manpower and investment resources.

Evidently, all these elements are limited in our country. This is in addition to the limited market. Therefore, while viewing the future of industry in our country, we must not ignore the limited resources to which we have referred. However, there is a potential for the creation of an advanced and prosperous industry in the fishing sector. Such potentials also exist in case mineral natural resources and oil are discovered. The truth is that our efforts in this sphere are still limited but the future is promising in this regard. Therefore, we can imagine that the immediate future of the industry lies within the framework of processing the limited agricultural raw materials and in the sphere of "replacing" imports.

There is no doubt that developing the industry on a realistic basis will contribute toward changing the features of the Yemeni society and painting the picture that we aspire for and in which the working class will have the major role.

[Question] In what forms do the country's plants save foreign currency?

[Answer] There are two forms in which the country's plants save foreign currency: First, by replacing imports. Through this pattern, we are supposed to reduce the country's spending in foreign currency. In certain cases, the opposite occurs in developing countries. However, we must realize the goal for which we have drawn up the industrialization policy.

Second, processing local raw materials and dispensing with the importation of similar goods.

Third, the possibility of exportation.

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CSO: 4802

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC AWAKENING

Aden 14 OCTOBER in Arabic 29 Apr 80 p 4

[Editorial by Muhammad Asim Nu'man: "In Light of Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's Statement, How Can Comprehensive and Broad Awakening Be Generated in Our National Economy?"]

[Text] The press statement issued by comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee secretary general, the chairman of the presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the prime minister, in the wake of the final session of the Central Committee's eighth session has shed light on all the issues facing the revolutionary procession in our country.

The economic issues got major attention in the Central Committee's discussion and in the statements of the committee's secretary general because of the major importance and vitality of these issues to the country's economic and social development.

The press statement has diagnosed the accomplishments realized in the economic field in the preceding period despite all the obstacles and difficulties, pointing out the planned and comprehensive development in the economic life that has led to increasing the individual income and raising the living standard of the toilers in reliance on the new social production relations founded on the ruins of the old exploitative relations. In this entire important process, the Yemen Socialist Party has had the honor of leading, building and strengthening the foundations.

Though we are referring to the positive economic accomplishment diagnosed by the report [sic] briefly and clearly, we must also refer at the same time to the difficulties that have accompanied the development in this field so as to make the picture complete and to try to deal with these difficulties objectively and soundly.

Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, the Central Committee secretary general, the chairman of the presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the prime minister, has asserted in his press statement that "the Central Committee has analyzed the causes behind the shortcomings and the gaps obstructing a

comprehensive and fast-paced awakening of our national economy and the development of the producing forces. The discussions have made it evident that the most preeminent difficulties lie in the poor economic management and in this management's lack of important elements, such as the economic operation of our establishment, in the poor distribution of the cadre, in the poor discipline at work, in the absence of administrative accounting and in the failure to establish an effective official and popular control to guarantee the creative implementation of the party's instructions and of the state's decrees in the economic sphere."

This accurate diagnosis puts us face to face with fundamental tasks that must be confronted with greater resources and capabilities and with approaches compatible with these difficulties and with the need to overcome them. The most prominent of these tasks are:

The talk about the poor economic management requires us to deal correctly with implementation of the important slogan of "putting the right man in the right place," to watch the implementation firmly and to fight the inclination to rely on considerations and criteria that are in conflict with the sound and positive implementation of this slogan. In this regard, specific and objective controls and criteria must be drawn up and must include all those working in the economic positions. By relying on these controls and criteria, the cadre should be distributed in a programmed manner and according to specialization and to the need of this or that economic or production site. Through this approach, the cases of masked unemployment from which some sites suffer can be dealt with and efforts can be made to improve production and raise productivity at ever-faster paces.

The partisan, official and control has continued to be weak, and absent in some cases. The followup by the higher echelons has also been poor. Therefore, strengthening the control on the various productive economic and service activities occupies an important place in the socio-economic process. A lot depends in this regard on the organized activity of all the partisan agencies, the central state agencies, the local popular council and the popular organizations because involving the masses in the control and holding meetings between the citizens and the members of the local people's councils--each council within its election district--constitute one of the most important sources and links of popular control.

Administrative accounting is also considered an important factor in developing the economic conditions. The absence of such accounting causes the emergence of numerous gaps. There must be stress on implementing the principles of bringing into account, especially cases connected with bribes, embezzlements, cheating and the destruction of public property.

In this regard, Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, the Central Committee secretary general, the chairman of the presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the prime minister, has said in the speech he delivered to the members of the Supreme People's Assembly: "Rewarding those who excel in their work and bringing to account those who are slack and negligent must be applied strictly

and objectively in all the sites of production and work. On this basis, those who excel must be given moral and material rewards and those who do not respect the honor of work, who do not pay attention to the people's public ownership and who try to avoid applying the laws in one way or another must be brought to account."

As for the attitude toward work, this issue has continued to be the subject of discussion and argument in many of the partisan, official, unionist and popular meetings and this is something that affirms the vitality of this issue. In this regard, the inclinations toward laxity, poor discipline, failure to observe the work hours and lack of high productivity in work must be fought. There is no doubt that a heavy responsibility falls in this respect on the shoulders of the popular organizations, particularly the unions. The unionist committees can, and must, play their role in enhancing, improving, developing and speeding up the pace of production and must seek constantly to improve the attitude toward work. This can be done through various means, of which one of the most prominent is the means of regular periodic meetings between the workers and the unionist committees in which all matters pertaining to the work and workers conditions are discussed.

It is needless to say that the basic role in this process, as in the case of all the economic and social processes and activities, falls primarily on the shoulders of the party's basic organizations in the various facilities. The party members are required before others to give the positive example and the vanguard model wherever they are and in a manner that can attract and encourage the other producers.

Moreover, the development of the methods of the economic management of the utilities and the units, regardless of how small they are, must constitute the focal point. From the abovementioned, we conclude that our country's procession of economic and social building which is moving forward firmly requires all the citizens, especially those in positions of responsibility, guidance and followup and influential positions, to consolidate their efforts in the direction of realizing the party's economic policy and the state's central plans and the direction of selecting the safest and most suitable means for achieving this policy and these plans.

We are all faced with enormous and significant tasks and we must carry them out in the best manner possible. Ceaseless and sincere work awaits all of us in order that we may contribute more effectively to the ever-expanding activity in the various spheres of our country's life. We have the resources and the capabilities that qualify us to realize the desired successes.

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CSO: 4802

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

FARM STATISTICS SHOW PROGRESS, OBSTACLES OVERCOME

Aden AL-THAWRI in Arabic 3 May 80 pp 6-7

[Article by Sa'id Qasim Ba'awad: "Dossier of State Farms and Cooperatives; 7 October Farm in Abyan: Specialized in Bananas and Solved Marketing Problems; Produces More Than 3,000 Tons and Doesn't Know Cost Per Feddan"]

[Text] When we entered the manager's office, he had already beaten us to it. He put his sickle on the manager's desk and smiled while talking calmly. The manager was somewhat busy and was not aware of his presence. But he soon withdrew quietly and by himself, leaving his sickle on the manager's desk. He was one of the men engaged in irrigating the bananas whom I had seen returning from the farm because of a power outage.

[Question] I said to the young manager: This week will be devoted to the 7 October Farm. I have already visited the Mujahid and Lenin Farms and other farms. Now your farm will be the topic of AL-THAWRI this week. But can you please light a lamp? It seems extremely dark here. Don't you feel hot?

[Answer] Shall we begin with electricity or with the farm? Electricity is a real problem. But let me talk to you about the farm first. Before I do so, let me say that I am sorry that we have no electricity.

Brother 'Ali Muhammad Zaghmah, the 7 October Farm manager, adds: The 7 October Farm is one of several state farms in Abyan Governorate. It was founded in 1970 and was called the 7 October Farm after the peasant uprising in al-Hisn, Ja'ar District. Before then, the farm consisted of small production units which were confiscated from the sultans after the fall of Zanzibar in 1967. The acreage of those units did not exceed 250 feddans at the time.

After the peasant uprising, the farm's name came to be coupled with the uprising. Next to the farm, there were lands owned by big feudalists. A survey was conducted and wells were drilled and then ploughing and cultivation operations were carried out and the farm has now reached nearly 1,200 feddans. The farm employs about 260 male and female workers, including 120 female workers, and 11 administrative workers, in addition to vehicle drivers. There are 23 artesian wells, of which 11 use electric pumps and the rest use diesel pumps. The farm owns two (D-4) tractors of different models, two Ferguson tractors, two big trucks and a Landcruiser vehicle.

Specialization Experiment and Banana Disease

(Brother 'Ali Zaghmah adds): The farm has 550 feddans cultivated with bananas, of which 500 feddans are cultivated with local bananas and the rest with the international (Boyo) type of bananas. The area cultivated with bananas occupies approximately one half the farm's acreage. The farm workers have gained extensive experience and expertise in banana cultivation operations and they are now aware of the means to increase the banana production by focusing on the irrigation and weeding operations. These are technical operations that are carried out daily by the workers who have, as a result, gained important expertise and skills in the sphere of banana cultivation. This has helped to implement the technical operations for raising banana productivity which has reached 8.5 tons per feddan.

When the banana disease spread in Tibn Governorate, several meetings were held among agriculture directors and supervisors. Section supervisors and workers excelling in banana cultivation took part in the meetings in order to learn the type of disease and its symptoms and the farm has at present a program to watch for this disease. In our farm, there has been no cases of banana disease. Should this happen, we can recognize the diseases, keeping in mind that we cooperate well with al-Kud Research [Center] and that the center workers visit us every month.

There are several factors involved in banana cultivation:

First, the selection of good soil that has been cultivated with bananas for 3 years.

Second, a source of water with low salinity or free of salinity.

Third, focusing on weeding.

Fourth, fertilizing.

Fifth, irrigating for specific period and at fixed and exact rates.

[Question] How much did the banana production amount to in 1979?

[Answer] Nearly 3,907.85 tons.

[Question] Do you have a plan for banana production?

[Answer] This question requires a lengthy explanation. However, I will tell you that from 1970 to 1979, we produced bananas according to cultivation plans and not to production plans. So far, we are working without a production plan. The reason is due to our lack of knowledge of the production per feddan of bananas. A committee has been formed for this purpose and has estimated production at 8.5 tons per feddan.

[Question] Well, do you expect a development in the pace of production?

[Answer] Yes, we expect to reach 4,000 tons.

[Question] Have you suffered from crop damage?

[Answer] Yes, in 1979.

[Question] And the reasons?

[Answer] First, unavailability of trucks in the Vegetable and Fruit Marketing Establishment.

Second, the unavailability of crates supplied by the establishment. For example, the establishment destroyed about 360 tons in 1979.

[Question] Let us return to the agricultural plan.

[Answer] In 1978-79, the plan called for the cultivation of 385 feddans with vegetable and field crops (sesame, corn, vegetables, tomatoes, okra, pumpkins and zucchini). Fifteen feddans were cultivated with tomatoes, with a production of 95 [sic] tons per feddan.

No Problem With Marketing

Contrary to the Lenin Farm, whose problems have been problems of marketing mainly, the 7 October Farm has no complaint in regard to marketing. This is perhaps due to the farm's specialization in the production of bananas and to the understanding that the farm has succeeded in establishing with the [marketing] establishment.

(Brother 'Ali says:) The relationship with the marketing establishment has improved since the beginning of this year. Until this month, there have been no problems in banana marketing or in marketing the other crops. There is an improvement in the relationship. But the issue of pricing is still present. We will bring up this issue with the brothers in the establishment. We sell the ton of bananas for 45 dinars and the establishment sells it for 100 dinars. This means that the establishment makes a profit of 55 dinars per ton.

Cost Is Unknown

Contrary to the Lenin Farm also, the 7 October Farm keeps no scientific and modern accounts and this makes it difficult to know the cost of production.

[Question] Do you have a scientific study to find out the cost of production per feddan of bananas?

[Answer] There is no study to find out this. The accounting is primitive and includes expenses and revenues only, without knowing the costs for every kind of crop.

[Question] Let us have an example.

[Answer] In 1979, the expenses and revenues were as follows:

Planned revenues: 190,000 dinars. Actual revenues: 188,566.905 dinars.
Estimated expenses: 186,000 dinars. Actual expenses: 177,329 dinars. In other words, the farm profits amount to 11,000 dinars as a minimum. However, in 1978, we made a profit of 62,000 dinars. We think that this [drop in profits from 1978 to 1979] is due to the following:

First, increased labor wages.

In September 1979, the average wages ranged from 25 to 39 dinars, i.e., the highest wages amounted to 62 dinars [presumably a month] on the basis of the scheduled official work hours. We have submitted a proposal to amend the basis so that set wages may be paid for work produced.

Second, the rising cost of spareparts and production requirements.

Third, failure of the prices of produce to keep up pace with the high costs of production requirements. We have proposed that the produce prices be modified.

Electricity: That Which Comes and Does not Come

(Brother 'Ali says:) Since September 1979, we have been suffering from the problem of power outages. If you want me to be precise, there were 4 full months in 1979 when power supply was available for only 12 hours daily. Since the beginning of this year, electricity has been out from 0600 to 1400 daily. At times, the outages last 24 a full hours.

[Question] This must cause a lot of problems.

[Answer] First, there is the effect of the outages on the banana crop. It is well known the banana crop is very sensitive insofar as water is concerned and that it needs to be irrigated with large quantities of water during the summer season. The power outages affect the production volume extremely.

Second, there is the effect of the outages on the agricultural plan, considering that every crop has its season. Sometimes, the season sets in while the farm is unable to irrigate the planned lands and, consequently, is unable to implement its plans.

Third, the workers engaged in irrigation cannot carry out the fundamental work because they are waiting for the electricity.

All these problems affect negatively the farm's revenue plans and we find, therefore, that the farm is not able to implement what is planned. This is happening at a time when the expenses are fixed. All this weakens the farm's financial position.

Wells, Maintenance and Cement

There remains the question of coating the canals with cement. This problem constitutes one of the serious obstacles. In most of the farms visited by AL-THAWRI, we have found that this problem exists. In the 7 October Farm, there are 23 wells. By 1979, there were only 4,000 meters of coated canals out of the total length of the canals in the farm.

The farm needs 10,000 meters of coated canals forming the total length of its canals. In this regard, we would like to point out that we will coat only 1,500 meters this year.

[Question] What about maintenance? Don't you have problems in this regard?

[Answer] We have a special maintenance team comprised of four members who are experienced in the maintenance operation.

[Question and answer indistinct].

Farmer's Messages to Establishments

The readers will recall that we have published a message addressed from one of the farms to the tomato plant when the relationship between the two sides got mixed up and resulted in the destruction of large quantities of tomatoes. Today we will publish another message from the 7 October Farm to the marketing establishment. Even though the relationship between the two sides is characterized by understanding, we would like to public the message for two reasons at least:

First, to recognize the reasons that have led, at least in the farm's viewpoint, to the damage in the banana crop which harmed the farm.

Second, to place these reasons before the marketing authorities so that the incident may not be repeated.

We publish the text of the following as received and without any modification:

In the wake of the complaint of the 7 October Farm which specializes in banana production, representatives of the Economic Department of the secretariat of the party organization in Abyan Governorate and of the secretariat of the local People's Council Executive Committee in the governorate visited the farm on Friday, 20 July 1979, to check the situation referred to in the complaint concerning the damage caused by the failure of the marketing establishment to provide regular transportation. Taking part in the inspection were:

1. Brother 'Ali Zaghamah, the farm director.
2. Brother Nasir Sharaf, the official in charge of the marketing branch.

3. Al-Bal'idi, the administrative and financial director of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform,

4. Muhammad Tur, the official in charge of the farm's militia section,

5. Brother 'Abdallah Bamuhayyid, the deputy director of the farm.

As a result of the on-the-spot inspection, the following was noticed:

First, the presence of large quantities of bananas exceeding 15 tons and representing the harvest of 2 successive days in the packing plant while still not prepared for shipping due to the lack of crates,

Second, the presence of heaps of harvested bananas, estimated at 12 tons, in all parts of the farm's banana production sections, keeping in mind that this quantity represented the harvest of a single day, namely that of Thursday, 19 July 1979.

The following was proven as a result of the discussions:

1. The operation of shipping the crop from the plant is often irregular and there is no shipping schedule, except for the usual [sic], because the means of transportation to ship the production are insufficient, especially in the summer.

2. The discussions have also confirmed the statement that the vehicles available to ship the packed crop in the plant are insufficient. Therefore, large quantities of the crop are piled up in the packing plant.

3. The problem of shipping the production is frequently brought up with the branch of the main establishment. The branch official has confirmed this fact. However, this is attributed to the failure of the central establishment to meet its commitments in regard to transportation.

In light of the deliberations on the problems, the visiting team, the representatives of the farm management and of the marketing establishment and those taking part in the deliberations have recommended the following:

No agreement is concluded between the farm management and the Vegetable and Fruit Marketing Establishment. This has resulted in problems and gaps that affect the production negatively. Therefore, the conclusion of an agreement is considered important.

To solve the currently existing problems, the following is recommended:

1. Efforts should be exerted to provide a sufficient number of trucks to transport the daily production. In this respect, the farm management should notify the marketing branch of the additional quantities produced that exceed the average daily production in advance.

2. The transporting operation should be organized on the basis of a timetable that guarantees the sound use of the resources and capabilities. In this regard, efforts must be exerted to curtail the phenomenon of the late arrival of trucks.

3. It is proposed that 500 crates be supplied by the establishment's management, provided that the farm management take full responsibility for safeguarding the crates. The cost of any losses should be incurred by the farm management.

4. The farm management and the marketing branch management must work jointly to overcome any obstacles facing the preparation and shipping of the production.

(message ends)

Now we can stress here the extreme significance of cementing the relations and ties between the various production marketing establishments in accordance with legal agreements by virtue of their being the ideal means for solving any problems that may arise. A quick reading of this important document reveals to us the truth of the problems and the possibilities of solving them. The matter in its entirety, as made evident by the "investigation" carried out by the assigned committee, is centered in the fact that the relationship between the producing establishment and the marketing establishment is not regulated on a legal basis. This is what we will discuss in future articles.

We have noticed how the relationship prevailing between the producing establishment and the marketing establishment is based on unwritten and illegal agreements. In this sense, these agreements are, to a large degree, undeclared agreements and it is impossible to guarantee the continuation of work in accordance with these agreements. This is one of the enormous shortcomings which, we again stress here on the pages of AL-THAWRI, must be overcome.

Inside Farm: Scenes, Meetings

Music came from the small radio near the basin where the bunches of bananas float and spread like colored fish and are caught by the workers easily and where the women busy with the bananas did not notice Salih al-Dabiyah [photographer] approaching them carefully to take a unique photograph.

The farm manager introduced me to Salim al-Zabi.

Welcome [he said].

He works as the supervisor of banana harvesting, said the manager in introducing him.

[Question] Since when have you been working in the farm, Salim?

[Answer] (He says while getting ready for his photograph to be taken:) Since 1973.

[Question] If I asked you what your problems with the farm are, how would you answer me?

[Answer] There are no problems. (He said it confidently and so I asked:)

[Question] And the wages?

[Answer] The wages are excellent.

[Question] How excellent? How much do you earn?

[Answer] 37 dinars.

[Question] How about transportation? Is your house far from the farm?

[Answer] The transportation is good. The bus [al-babur] brings us to the farm.

Before Salim al-Zabi left us, the farm manager asked me: Haven't you been introduced to the basic organization secretary?

And so I embarked on a conversation with Ibrahim Kulayf, the basic organization secretary, who said:

The partisan work of the basic organization is proceeding well. All the organization's activities are focused on providing guidance to the working forces so that they may actually implement the principles of abundant production and of safeguarding the public ownership. These activities also concentrate on crystallizing and disseminating the party's thinking and policy among the agricultural workers. Moreover, the basic organization takes part in drawing up the agricultural plans.

[Question] Are there women in your party organization?

[Answer] Yes, we have one female comrade.

Day When State Farms Met

Not far from us, I could see them near the stream drinking tea and gathering under the shade of tall tree. 'Abdallah Muhammad Dahmas was standing among them.

[Question] Do these comrades work in the farm?

[Answer] No, these are the workers of various farms--al-Mustaqbal [future] Farm, al-Mu'tamar al-Rabi' [fourth congress] Farm and October Farm.

[Question] What are they doing, then?

[Answer] They have studied in illiteracy eradication classes and they are now trying to develop their reading capabilities.

The music was still coming from the banana shack when comrade Zayn said: It is 0130 (or 1330!!)

We took our farewell of the agricultural workers and of the banana trees in 7 October Farm. The workers were waiting for the power to come so that they may rise to their work.

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

MODEL FARM FACES MARKETING, SUPPLY PROBLEMS

Aden AL-THAWRI in Arabic 26 Apr 80 pp 6-7, 15

[Article by Sa'id Qasim Ba'awad: "Dossier of State Farms and Cooperatives; Lenin Farm in Abyan Governorate"]

[Text] This time, the comrade chief editor had called me to his office before I could make arrangements with the driver to visit Lenin Farm.

I will come with you on this tour, [the chief editor said].

At 0800 on the following morning, I had with me a big team of the editorial staff: The chief editor, the editor of the "Readers' Page," the photographer, the driver and myself. We toured the farm, interviewed the workers and waited for the farm manager.

I had been compelled to postpone publishing the article and thus I had the opportunity to have this interview with the farm manager.

Interview With Farm Manager: Model Farm...But

The Lenin Farm was founded in 1969 immediately after independence on the ruins of the escaped sultans. It was founded on the basis of expanding the state farms, i.e., the basis of bolstering the public sector in the agricultural sphere. At the time, the administrative and economic cadre was not adequately available.

Brother Ahmad Muhammad Mukarrid, the director of the modern Lenin Farm, begins his interview with an important point concerning the agricultural situation, saying:

If we review the agricultural situation carefully, we will find that most of the state farms have not achieved their main goals yet, i.e., the goals of absorbing the largest number of male and female workers, of meeting the citizens' needs for vegetables and fruits and of establishing financial supports and surpluses for the state.

[Question] Let us then define precisely what the state farms are suffering from.

[Answer] It can be said that most of the state farms suffer from:

First, either masked unemployment which cannot be eliminated because of the laws.

Second, or a severe shortage in manpower, especially skilled manpower.

These are, of course, natural consequences of all the previous measures. There is, therefore, a need for a financial review in the agricultural sphere.

There is more than one question here: What are the reasons for the poor financial conditions of most of the state farms and what are the reasons for the loss of individual non-cooperative farmers in the farms?

Therefore, a comprehensive review of all aspects of the agricultural process is necessary.

Previously, the agricultural operation in any agricultural utility was the agricultural plan, i.e., the state required the utility to prepare and implement the plan in terms of feddans, acreage and so forth, and the farm worked with all its capabilities to implement this plan. At present, the plan represents only a part of the agricultural production operation because the operation starts with the economic mainstays of statistics, studies and technical research (soil, water and so forth). The production operation itself has its requirements, such as fertilizers, irrigation and land preparation. The agricultural operation ends in marketing and in translating this into the revenues of the production utilities.

Financial Review and Real Examples

(Brother Mukarrid adds:) The review should, therefore, cover all these aspects. For example, the Lenin Farm is a model farm in terms of the availability of the administrative cadre, the accountants and the production cadre. Moreover, a considerable quantity of water is available and the soil is fertile. This farm's abidance by implementation of the plan (1978-79 plan) amounted to 97 percent and the Planning Department of the Ministry of Agriculture has proposed that the farm be rewarded. However, all this hasn't prevented the presence of a financial deficit.

The financial deficit appears in the final budget. The reason, in our estimate, is due to the fact that several links in the agricultural process are not well studied and not harmonious.

[Question] Then tell us more about the farm so that the general picture may become complete.

[Answer] A total of 300 male and female workers work in the farm. We have the following equipment: Four ploughing machines (Ferguson), including one that is out of order and will be so for an unknown period, three tractors, also including one that is out of order, and 18 [water] pumps, including 11 diesel-operated pumps and seven electricity-operated pumps, and three trucks.

[Question] Let us turn to the area's acreage and the kinds of crops it produces.

[Answer] The farm acreage is 1,850 feddans divided into a northern section, central section, an eastern section and fruit section. The most prominent crop is tomatoes and we cultivate a maximum of nearly 200 feddans with this vegetable (1976) and the productivity per feddan ranges from 3 to 7 tons of tomatoes.

In 1978-79, we planted 150 feddans with tomatoes and were required to produce 750 tons of tomatoes.

Tomato Plant Ruined 244 Tons of Our Tomato Production

In 1979, the tomato plant ruined nearly 244 tons of tomatoes, or 4 tons per feddan, valued at 12,500 dinars. The tomatoes were left to rot in the farm because the plant was out of operation. The rest of the story is well-known and was published by AL-THAWRI in its field reports on the plant.

Financial Deficit and Cost is Unknown

[Question] Can we know the production cost, especially of tomatoes?

[Answer] We currently have a study to calculate the production costs. We started the study in September 1979 with our own efforts and it hasn't been completed yet. Therefore, we cannot give you a correct figure because we still don't know the exact cost per feddan.

[Question] Do you have a financial deficit?

[Answer] Yes. In 1979, the difference between expenses and revenues amounted to 52,000 dinars.

[Question] What, in your opinion, are the causes of the farm's poor financial conditions?

[Answer] After a review of the years from 1977 until the present, we have found that the farm's production situation has been declining year after year. If we examine the expenses in detail and then interpret these expenses, we find that the administrative expenses have not risen very much in 1979-80 whereas personnel expenses (wages, allowances) have risen three-fold. Therefore, anybody who examines the figures will find out that the problem of rising production costs lies in the following reasons:

First, the rising cost of labor year after year. From 1973 to 1980, this cost has risen in an obvious manner. Meanwhile, there has been no parallel increase in the productivity of the worker.

Second, the rising costs of agricultural production resulting from the rising costs of materials [sic] and fuels.

Third, the unchanging prices of the production from 1973 to 1979.

Marketing Is Major Problem

(Brother Mukarrid says:) Because the agricultural production operation is not merely the operation of cultivation and because it includes numerous other links, such as marketing for example, the farm's production standard rises year after year. Meanwhile, there is nothing to counter this increase, i.e., the marketing establishment does not have the ability to market the production. There are numerous causes for this:

First, prices: The difference between the producer and the consumer should be very small. It is well-known that the profit margin should not exceed 10 percent. So why does this margin reach 150 percent in the Public Fruit and Vegetable Marketing Establishment? For example, the cost price of a kilogram of bananas is 45 fils whereas the kilogram is sold for 100 fils. The cost price of a kilogram of spring onions is 45 fils whereas the kilogram is sold for 90 fils!

Second, the Public Marketing Establishment has not been created on sound foundations. For example, the productivity of the feddan rises and declines. Because the establishment is governed by agreements, it cannot recognize the conditions of rising or declining production and, therefore, it doesn't market the surplus!

Every year we have a number of crops that we include as crops facing marketing problems. This helps some farms avoid producing some crops.

For example: We had to cultivate 150 feddans with tomatoes in 1978. Being realistic, we asked that this acreage not exceed 100 feddans. This year, we have refused to cultivate any acreage with tomatoes designated for the tomato plant as a result of the problems of marketing.

Third, the relationship between the establishments and the farms is found on the basis that the establishments take all the production of state farms. But this principle is not applied in the marketing establishment. Consequently, the farm is compelled to destroy some crops which the establishment refuses to take. In 1980, the farm has destroyed more than 300 tons of tomatoes. Here is another example:

It is shameful to complain about the unavailability of onions in the market when we list onions as one of the crops to be destroyed. The establishment

asks the farm for only 205 kilograms of onions daily for marketing whereas the farm can supply 2,500 kilograms daily!

Here is the story exactly:

In the farm, we employ the system of piecemeal work. On the basis of this system, the worker is required to reap 350 kilograms in a day's work. Meanwhile, the establishment asks us for 205 kilograms only. Shall we cut off a part of the worker's body?! We are a farm and not a shop. They asked us to sign for this quantity. At the outset, we refused but later signed as a result of a decision by the Agricultural Department. However, we signed with reservations.

Onions Free and for Whoever Wants Them

Last Friday, we sent more than 500 kilograms of onions as a gift to Martyr Naji Hospital and Ja'ar Secondary School. This was done in the presence of the director of agriculture and the director of farms in the governorate. We gave the onions away as a gift because the establishment refuses to take them. However, you should notice that onions are not available in the market.

On a previous occasion, they refused to receive a truck loaded with 2,500 kilograms until the secretary of the economic department of the party organization interfered!

Viewpoint on Supply, Demand and Onions

(Brother Mukarrid adds:) The supply and demand law is still governing the market. This is something that cannot be ignored. We cannot cancel the supply and demand law. Let us take this example: Sudanese almonds [presumably meaning peanuts] are a new crop being cultivated by the cooperatives. Why has this crop disappeared from the markets?

The farmers want to cultivate this crop. Its price is high and, therefore, it is in this sense a tempting crop. But the pricing policy wants to control the price of this crop. Consequently, the farmers have refrained from cultivating it.

I believe that encouraging the farmers to cultivate this crop and to sell it at the price they wish will in turn encourage a large number of farmers and will, consequently, increase the volume of the crop produced. Practically, its price will again drop as a result of its abundance in the market.

[Question] I do not agree very much with your viewpoint. However, it can be discussed in detail.

[Answer] Then here is another example: Mangoes and limes. The farm can sell limes in the "open" market for 865 fils per kilogram at the rate of 25 fils per lime. Meanwhile, the establishment buys the limes at the price of 150 fils per kilogram. There is a big difference.

[Question] This issue is connected with the pricing policy. Don't you think that it is necessary to have fixed prices to fight inflation?

[Answer] I am discussing here the "logic of marketing." How can one establishment market all the country's production? The pricing policy must also be reconsidered.

[Question] And how about the black market?

[Answer] It is a very natural thing. In the absence of some products, the open market emerges. It is not a black market in our country. We will talk about this. We cannot trade in a commodity that is not in demand. Take this example:

When we gave the onions to the hospital and to the secondary school as a gift, there was still an excess. What did we do?

We distributed the onions to the citizens free of charge. But the citizens did not eat the onions. They took them to the market and sold them. Is this a black market? Imagine that we give away the onions free of charge when they are not available in the market because the establishment refuses to receive the onions and because we have no right to sell and market directly!

[Question] I will ask you again: What about the fixed prices?

[Answer] The fixed price is not always correct. When there are large quantities of tomatoes in the market, their price must be dropped below the fixed price in order to make it possible to market these quantities. When the supply drops, then the prices can rise up to the level of the fixed price once more. This guarantees marketing and prevents the black market.

[Question] I also disagree with you here. The fixed price policy is essential. The marketing of production does not require the fluctuation of prices but rather requires regulating the marketing of the produce so as not to flood the market and not to create bottlenecks in it. Now, let us discuss your problems with electricity.

Diesel Without Oil, Oil Without Diesel

Electric power is not supplied for more than 9 hours a day. At times, we experience power outages for a full day or two. At present, the power has been out since Thursday. We have no power generators and no diesel storage tanks in almost all of the state farms in Abyan Governorate.

Diesel...Another Problem

There is only one cooperative that sells diesel and this cooperative has two stations. One day it has diesel and no oil and another day it has oil and no diesel!

Why Did They Bring Fold to Farm?

We also have a sheepfold.

[Question] How many heads of sheep do you have?

[Answer] A total of 565 heads of sheep. This fold has suffered repeatedly from a deficit amounting to more than 6,600 dinars [annually].

[Question] What is the goal of this fold?

[Answer] I don't know. I, like the manager of Mujahid Farm, ask: Why have they brought the fold to the farm?

[Question] Perhaps for reproduction and for improving the strain.

[Answer] No. The daily course of work shows that the deaths are equal to, if not more than, the births.

What Farmers Demand

I took out my small notebook while watching the faces overflowing with optimism and wrote:

This is 'Ali al-Sayyid Muhammad, a banana harvester. What did he tell me? I watched him twirling his fingers and talking to me with utter spontaneity:

We harvest the bananas, wash them in the basins, pack them in the crates and...

[Question] Good. Is your house far from the farm?

[Answer] Yes, very far.

[Question] So you are forced to come here early?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] The farm vehicles bring you?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] How do you find your work?

[Answer] Good. It is good work.

[Question] And the wages?

[Answer] They are good.

I turn another page of the notebook. This is Jamilah 'Ali Hasan. I am now face to face with a production hero. I now see these heroes in the farms as I have seen them in the plants.

[Question] How much do they pay you monthly.

[Answer] Monthly? I really don't know.

[Question] How come you don't know?

[Answer] Oh, 300 shillings.

[Question] How long have you been in the farm?

[Answer] Three years.

[Question] How do you find the work?

[Answer] In the farm, it is good.

Qublah Salih 'Awad says: I have been in the farm 7 years.

[Question] Is work in the farm tiring?

[Answer] What tiring? The work is good.

[Question] How much do they pay you?

[Answer] What?

[Question] Monthly, how much do they pay you monthly?

[Answer] They pay me 672 shillings. I am working in the place of my deceased husband who used to work in the 7 October Farm.

Talib Nasir al-'Aris says:

I have been working in the farm for 8 years and have been working in banana irrigation since 1974.

[Question] What salary do they pay you?

[Answer] 700 shillings.

[Question] How do you find the wages? Are they right?

[Answer] I have family and children...

What Do These Want?

When we entered the illiteracy eradication class, the comrade chief editor was already there and comrade photographer Salih al-Dabiyah was trying to take pictures but the female peasants who were scattered in the room were busy with their lesson. The comrade chief editor suggested that they sit in an organized manner. The suggestion was clear. The chief editor said:

This is not for the sake of taking a picture. Look how we can organize the classroom. The blackboard is here. No, move it here. Let the women sit on the benches instead of on the floor. The picture published on page 6 is that of the women farmers sitting on the benches and listening to the lesson. I was gazing at the scene: The women dusting away their exhaustion and looking with amazement at the white letters and perhaps wondering: What do these strangers want? Why have they changed their seating positions on the floor?

Return to Farm and Endeavor at Visualization From Different Angle

I now have before me not just one picture of the Lenin Farm. I can say that I have more than one picture. I may have modified my reportage. Contrary to my habit, I have started with an interview with the farm manager. This is a logical reason insofar as I am concerned. Here is my justification:

The Lenin farm is a model farm. If we list its problems and examine its circumstances, we can also list its positive accomplishments and demonstrate the enthusiasm of the farm workers in an independent picture and as one of the more positive factors.

The problems of the Lenin farm will not prevent us, in any case, from painting a different picture for it. [Aren't we viewing it from more than one angle?] There is no doubt that the Lenin Farm enjoys extremely significant advantages that make it a pioneer farm in terms of the acreage cultivated and in terms of the complete cadre working in it. There is no doubt that the problems which the farm experiences are problems inherited from both the heavy legacy of backwardness and from the "legacy" of misapplication. But what is important in all this is that the actual measures flow into a course that serves development of the agricultural production operation.

There is no doubt that the marketing establishment can help a lot in solving the farm's problems so that this farm may again proceed as a pioneer farm.

The enthusiasm of the agricultural workers, their love for their work and the important accomplishments at various levels in the farm are important instruments at the disposal of the farm to overcome its problems and the stumbling blocks facing it.

Figures and Indications

Here are these figures and these indications (see chart):

Indications:

First, great efforts are exerted to cultivate the acreage listed in the plan.

Second, the tomato crop, for example, would have yielded 799 tons if 244 tons had not been destroyed as a result of the idle plant. Therefore, the productivity per feddan will be good.

Third, there is a big drop in feddan's production of the various crops, especially the production of Virginia tobacco which is considered a new crop in the farm.

Fourth, a large percentage of the produce is lost in ways that are not accounted for. This reduces the actual production per feddan and also reduces the general productivity (we have relied on the figures and conclusions of the farm report in this regard).

Crop	Production in Tons					
	Planned	Realized	Planned Tonnage Per Feddan	Realized Tonnage	Planned Tonnage	Realized Tonnage
Virginia Tobacco	20	18	4.25	4.5	1	0.33
Millet	400	348	200	3.9	5	1.00
Corn	100	112	100	63.600	1	57.00
Sesame	250	231	063	38.500	0.250	0.15
Tomatoes	150	150	600	555.300	[indistinct]	3.70
Total	1,205	1,174.5	20.93	1,351.900		

[Chart as published]

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EDITORIAL CALLS ON YOUTH TO IMPLEMENT MILITARY SERVICE LAW

Aden 14 OCTOBER in Arabic 30 Apr 80 p 2

[Editorial by 'Abd-al-Hamid Sayf: "Role of Youth in Implementing Military Service Law"]

[Text] Our country's military establishments assume extraordinary significance in the revolutionary activity program of our Yemen Socialist Party by virtue of their being the protective and safe shield safeguarding our progressive regime and the mighty force that stands ready to defend the sovereignty of the Yemeni homeland the gains realized by the Yemeni revolution through the enormous sacrifices made by the toiling masses to achieve their liberation and social progress.

Within this framework, the military service law has been of major importance in the life of the military establishments, considering that it has come to supply these establishments with new blood to guarantee their development and to enhance their role and effectiveness on the basis of the Yemen Socialist Party's documents and the basis of the spirit of boundless loyalty to the cause of the Yemeni revolution and the cause of building the united democratic Yemen. The political report presented to the first congress of the Yemen Socialist Party states the following: "The military and national service law and the extensive training of the masses of workers, farmers and other toilers mobilize vast capabilities that defend the revolution and its gains vigilantly in order to enhance the role of the toiling masses in defending the revolution."

The party's program also states the following: "The party devotes great attention to the process of providing military training to the workers and the toilers, especially to bringing up the youth with the spirit of readiness to perform the national military service and to join the military agencies. The party proceeds in this regard on the premise that defending the homeland is the duty of every citizen."

Therefore, the third general congress of the (Yemen Socialist Party) has explained this issue and has devoted to it a large part of its documents, considering that the youth are the active reserve of the party and the struggle vanguard of our country. The congress has stressed the need for having the tasks of the national military education of our youth founded on

our Yemeni people's history of struggle against the colonialists, the sultans and the imams, on the models of the Yemeni popular struggle traditions and on the heroic struggles of the masses in defending the glorious 26 September and 14 October revolutions. The congress has also stressed the importance of bringing up the youth with the spirit of true patriotism and of effective participation in restoring the unity of our Yemeni people and land on a progressive and democratic basis. The documents of the third general congress of the (Yemen Socialist Party) [ASHID] have stressed the need for the activity of the party organizations in the sphere of military education to rely on the following:

First, explaining the law and its social importance to the youth and creating a vigilant and positive attitude toward the issue of defending the revolution and the homeland, considering that this is the duty of every Yemeni youth and is in implementation of the slogan "we don't deserve a homeland that we don't defend."

Second, holding various national service functions--military parades, military training programs, interviews with those participating in armed struggle, in the national liberation battles and in defending the national independence--with the aim of familiarizing the youth with the struggle heritage of our people and with their valiant steadfastness in the face of all invaders and colonialists.

Third, organizing continuous meetings for the vanguard groups with the veteran soldiers, soldiers wounded in combat and with the families of the revolution martyrs in a manner that serves the upbringing of the youth with the spirit of love for the homeland and the spirit of defending its progressive gains and with a deep awareness of the nature and effects of the colonialist and imperialists wars against the struggling people of the world.

Fourth, organizing permanent relations between the Yemen Socialist Party organizations in the various educational establishments and organizations on the one hand and the various units of the armed forces on the other hand and implanting the spirit of amity and unity between them.

Fifth, establishing technical military clubs and cultural and art seminars and associations, organizing athletic competitions and rallies and bolstering the military and professional inclination among the youth by virtue of their being the men of tomorrow and the future bearers of the revolution's banner.

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CSO: 4802

ARMS SALES TO VARIOUS STATES REVIEWED

Paris DEFENSE INTERARMES in French May 80 pp 38-42

[Text] The new strategic importance of the Persian Gulf countries has been apparent to the world since winter 1979. But it can be said that starting the very day of the Shah's precipitate departure, Saudi Arabia and the Emirates found themselves in an entirely new position. Fortunately for the Atlantic Alliance, military cooperation with this countries was already firmly established. As early as August 1971 the United Kingdom signed accords with Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. France, the United States, and England have also long been supplying [military] equipment (a role also occupied by Iran until the revolution and the departure of the emperor). Not to mention that their officers have frequently received training in the West and that some instructors and technicians from Europe and America were already there before the latest crises.

In light of the loss of Iran, many believe they see in Saudi Arabia a successor capable of maintaining the peace in the region; but one must also reckon with President Sadat's Egypt. Moreover, there have been military links between Egypt and the Gulf Emirates since 1975 when the Arab Military Industry Organization was created to promote development of an Arab military industry and to facilitate construction under license of English, German, American, and French equipment and materiel. The signatories of this accord were Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Emirates, and Sudan. It was stipulated that production sites would be situated--at first--in Egypt, due to its existing industrial structures.

Even if the Gulf countries subsequently withdrew their promises of financial support to Egypt, because of its policy of peaceful overtures to Israel, one must see this principally as a prudent position in face of the Arab League, where hard-line elements still set the tone. Nevertheless, this experiment proved that--basically--Egypt and the Emirates have what they believe to be common interests. The West should therefore avoid favoring Saudi Arabia too much to the detriment of Cairo. For to lose Egypt now would unquestionably be negatively interpreted by the Saudi kingdom.

Since the beginning of the year, the Persian Gulf has become a military focal point of first importance. Soviet reconnaissance planes from Aden patrol over the borders of the Emirates every day. To counter the arrival of the Russian reinforcements, the U.S. Navy sent three carriers (the Nimitz, the Midway, and the Coral Sea). About 30 American war vessels are presently on the Indian Ocean, and as many on the Soviet side, and the USSR is going to augment its naval potential still further by sending some 20 units coming from the Indian Ocean. The USA on its side has brought in B-52 strategic bombers from their base on Guam--13,000 km away--solely to be able to surveil the Soviet fleet. The two great powers are thus trying to impress each other.

The Straits of Hormuz plays a crucial role in this gigantic game of chess, for it is through them that each year 880 million tons of oil leave the Gulf headed toward the Western countries. The strait is bordered on one side by the Sultanate of Oman and on the other by Iran. This is why the role played by Sultan Qabus Bin Said's country is not a negligible one, a fact indirectly confirmed by President Carter in his speech of 23 January 1980: "We want to state clearly that any attempt by a foreign power to bring the Persian Gulf region under its control would be considered a direct threat to the vital interests of the United States. It would be opposed by any means necessary, including military force."

Since then, Pakistan's refusal to accept the \$400 million in aid proposed by the United States further increases the import of those words. Of course, President Carter is an unpredictable politician, but he must also be aware that to lose the Gulf without military reaction would amount to losing that Third World War which former president Nixon described in his latest work (still to appear) as having already been in progress for decades.

This attitude on the part of the United States should not, however, lead the Arab countries concerned to feel themselves under an American protectorate. The famous umbrella does not suffice, one must also strengthen and support the regimes in place.

Thus the Sultanate of Oman, while turning down an American military base, has nevertheless military aid from Washington. For, beyond the straits, Oman is also the only country to have a common border with the only communist country on the Arab peninsula: the People's Republic of Yemen, where there are presently, already, 12,000 Soviet and German "advisers" with a sizeable arsenal.

In face of this threat, the Sultanate has barely 20,000 men, equipped, to be sure, with modern materiel (TOW missiles, Exocet and Rapier, Jaguar airplanes). For lack of a regional base, the USA is forced to use its base on Diego Garcia. This tropical isle on the Indian Ocean, 4,000 km distant from the straits, is inhabited only by soldiers and represents one of the most important military bases in the world. Obviously, that is hardly comforting when Soviet units are only 500 km from the straits.

From the military point of view, it is the armed forces of Saudi Arabia which represent the major stabilizing element in the Gulf region. In recent years, this country has concentrated on augmenting its airborne military potential. In 1977, the air force had 97 warplanes, compared to 171 today. This enables it to intervene more quickly in case of aggression, especially in case of support from other Gulf countries.

However, for all that, the importance of the land army should not be discounted; it has a stable active force of around 35,000 men. In fact, this army has--in a very short period of time--received the most modern materiel, even if one can criticize some disparity in the equipment (example: anti-aircraft defense using the AMX-30 DCA, M-42 40 mm, Hawk, Shanine, Redeye, M-60 DCA, and M-163 Vulcan).

But it would be wrong to interpret its arms acquisition policy as incoherent and solely dictated by the desire to buy "the best." What must be seen here above all is a certain desire for independence on the part of a country which refuses to depend entirely on one supplier. There again, the principal supplier countries are the USA, France, and the United Kingdom (in descending order).

Saudi Arabia would also have much appreciated a more liberal policy by the Federal Republic of Germany on export of military materiel. It has long been interested in the Leopard-1 battle tank and in the VCI [expansion unknown] Marder. Bonn's position remains incomprehensible when one considers that Italy--for example--exports to Libya (presently 4 sloops equipped with Otomat sea-to-sea missiles). But in the end this state of affairs is profitable for the military industry of the other European countries: in fact, the Persian Gulf countries have in the last 2 years ordered around \$700 million in military materiel.

President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's recent visit to the region will doubtless strengthen--in years to come--France's role as a supplier. It is also certain that French military industry is able to furnish all the materiel needed by all three branches [of the armed forces], especially since French enterprises have long and solid experience in materiel and systems adapted to the specific conditions of climate and terrain found in the Gulf region.

The next largest military power--after Saudi Arabia--is the United Arab Emirates. Its armed forces were unified only recently. In fact, it was in 1976 that the Emirates (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ras Al Khaimah, and Sharjah) officially decided to unify their defense resources. These small countries were aware of their strategic importance, and were not unaware that only a union of their respective forces could provide a credible deterrent.

Their land forces presently dispose of around 200 armored vehicles (mostly of English origin: Scorpion, Sacren, Ferret and Shortland). There are 23,500 men on active duty. The air force has 32 Mirage-5's, while the navy is going to get 5 Jaguar missile-bearing vedette-boats.

There is also talk of an order of around 20 Lion battle tanks. This armored vehicle remains a mystery. It is in fact a simplified model of the Leopard-1, assembled by Oto Melara, the parts being provided by the FRG. It is completely unknown whether this tank--specially built for the Middle East--already exists in prototype, or has already been delivered, or whether it is still only in the planning stage. In reality, there is not yet a single photograph to prove that it really exists, although for some time it has figured on the shopping lists of several Gulf states.

But the Persian Gulf should not just be an interesting market (since the beginning of this year, shares of stock in the American military industry have climbed by 20 percent overall).

For the United States and Europe, the most important thing is to contribute--both economically and politically--to the stability of the region. This will guarantee energy supplies all the while it blocks the USSR's encircling maneuvers. At the same time, this assistance will help prepare the countries of the Gulf region for the post-petroleum future; for with or without this vital material, these countries must continue to count on us; in a common interest in providing them with economic assistance, the Western world will make a contribution toward re-strengthening the ties which it has forged with the countries of this region.

Military Equipment Recently Ordered by the Gulf Countries

Bahrain

4 missile-equipped vedettes

Kuwait

Scorpion light tanks

175 VTT M-113

Various artillery pieces

TOW a/c [expansion unknown] missiles

SA-7 ground-air missiles

Sultanate of Oman

3 Skima-12 aeroglisateurs [translation unknown]

2 Buffalo DHC-5D

Qatar

Hawk ground-air missiles

Saudi Arabia

150 M-60 tanks
95 Commando light armored cars
50 Fox light armored cars
? M-163 ground-air automouvants (translation unknown)
86 ground-air automouvants on M-60A1 chassis
88Shanine, Redeye, Improved Hawk ground-air missiles
9 corvettes
4 Harpoon missile-equipped vedettes
4 coastal minesweepers
4 landing boats
45 F-15's
15 TF-15's
1 Boeing 747

United Emirates

20 Lion tanks (simplified Leopard)
50 Scorpion light tanks
6 Jaguar missile-equipped vedettes
1 Aeritalia G-222
? Lynx helicopters

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CSO: 4500

SULTANATE OF OMAN

BRIEFS

NEW REFINERY--Muscat, 26 Jun--Japan's Mitsui Company Wednesday won a contract to build Oman's first oil refinery in Muscat at a cost of 26 million riyals (about 75 million US dollars). The refinery, with a daily capacity of 50,000 barrels, is expected to be completed by the middle of 1982. The Under-Secretary of Oman's Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals signed the contract with the Japanese firm's representative in Muscat. NAB/Reuter [Text] [Rangoon THE WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY in English 28 Jun 80 p 5]

CSO: 4820

OPPOSITION LEADER AL-BITAR VIEWS INTERNAL TURMOIL

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 14 Apr 80 p 18

[Interview by Hisham Talib with Salah al-Din al-Bitar, former Syrian prime minister, in Baghdad: "Creation of an 'Opposition' in Syria Should be Permitted; Hafiz al-Assad Is Not Sectarian and the Army Is Not 'Alawi (Moslem Nusairi sect), But General Climate Is Sectarian; The Baghdad Summit Is Ineffective, and Freedom Is Non-existent;" date not given]

[Text] Mr Salah al-Din al-Bitar, the former Syrian prime minister, proposed the formation of an opposition front in Syria to work on easing popular tension which might, according to him, lead to civil war. Mr al-Bitar regarded the staging of a military coup as unlikely at the present time, because revolutions, as he said, have lost their legitimacy, and revolutionaries have become like any other regime.

Al-Bitar said this in a lengthy interview with AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Baghdad where he participated in the pan-Arab people's congress.

In his assessment of events in the Arab world following Sadat's withdrawal and his entanglement with the peace treaty with Israel, al-Bitar said: "Through its defensive posture, the Baghdad summit cannot affect the course of events. Without regaining Egypt, there is no solution. To regain Egypt, we call on the Egyptian people to regain their rights, that is, to replace Sadat, or to compel him to change the course of his steps. I say future steps, not what is done, for what is done is done."

As to the role of the Arabs with regard to Egypt, al-Bitar said that the Arabs "must enable the Egyptian people to seize their affairs in their own hands. I emphasize this aspect, because the Egyptian people do not know that Sadat feeds them promises, and believe that he will give them a better life. But the ordinary man in Egypt has begun to feel a pinch. A loaf of bread, I am told, went for a half piaster; now it goes for a full piaster. Meanwhile, the wages of Egyptians are very meager in comparison to their social condition and the rise in prices. So, the Egyptian people are living right now in an explosive period.

"These things require thoughtful explanation in a language which the Egyptian people can understand. For we must address ourselves to the people, because the intelligentsia there are regrettably isolated from the people. Cairo is now dominated by an atmosphere of backwardness. The majority of its people are miserable. We must talk to them, because they are Egypt. They are the ones who can carry out a revolution. This requires a special language in terms of ideas which can turn on the Egyptians."

Iraq's Role

Al-Bitar said, "At the Baghdad summit, resolutions were adopted and that's all." The Baghdad summit does represent an ideology. The question is, what is Iraq's role in it? Iraq's role is to take the initiative as it is the one which called for the Baghdad summit. It should be more interested than other Arab states in moving from a defensive stance to an offensive one. In other words, it should be interested in preparing a new strategy, to be approved by a new summit conference, for regaining Egypt."

The Arab Peace Plan

Al-Bitar continued: "In addition to that, a number of Arab intellectuals must be called upon to draw up an Arab peace plan, which would safeguard the Palestinian cause and embarrass Sadat who is constantly repeating, 'What is the alternative?' I have repeated this call more than once. Iraq is in a position to take the initiative in this."

Israel Will Not Go to War

Al-Bitar added: "Israel will not go to war. Instead, it wants to swallow up the West Bank, because to go to war, it must take the advice of America, and because, if it went to war, the Soviet Union would not keep quiet, as the matter has international dimensions."

No Arab Unity

[Question] Do you see any glimmer of hope on the horizon in the direction of Arab unity?

[Answer] We must change our slogans instead of singing to them. I am saying it is important to change the wording of the slogans and define the concepts with arousing expressions.

Today the slogan of Arab unity has become mummified, and does not evoke any response.

It is better to replace it with a slogan to do away with "Arab fragmentation." The slogan of Arab unity now denotes complete achievement of unity, in an instant. In view of the fact that this is impossible, it constitutes mere words which do not give rise to action. A call for deliverance from

fragmentation stirs up in us a desire for gradual action in the economic, informational, and military domains, all of which constitute steps on the road to unity. When we say unity, we mean political unity and the need for the Arab countries to achieve it.

Arab Disintegration

[Question] The conferences which are being held, as we see it, are increasing degeneration and disintegration of the Arab countries. How is it possible to stop this disintegration?

[Answer] My thought is my deed. That is, look for action, not talk. I have said that there is something missing. It is freedom. The solution is to use this new factor [freedom], which we lost 20 years ago and, therefore, slid into the state of weakness we are in.

Freedom has become a revolutionary cause requiring action and time. But action is started by means of the spoken word. However, we must not utter mere slogans. Rather, we must ask questions, such as: "What is the meaning of this." We cannot get away from degeneration if we go on as we are, for every regime says it is democratic.

Every country says: "This is democracy." But you must now answer: "Democracy is not a bunch of words." Algeria's full name is "The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, etc." We now need a definition of this word [democracy], lest we get confused.

With the Regime Only

[Question] What is the contemporary meaning of this word?

[Answer] I would rather substitute democracy with "freedom", that is, the freedom of man, because a free public can be in harmony with you. However, the public is not free, but enslaved in a manner non-existent in the rest of the world. It is enslaved by means of its source of livelihood. For example, if you are not with the regime, your means of living is cut off. And for you to survive, you must be with the government, and not neutral, as neutrality is equated with hostility.

Human rights are the basic missing link [in this type of] democracy. If you ask for Western democracy and a diversity of parties, you are condemned on the grounds that Western democracy is not suited to our country. I advocate a diversity of parties, but within the framework of national unity, for we are currently living in a state of emergency, and not in a state of stability. All the powers, especially the two superpowers, are conspiring against us.

They do not want us to get started in the development process, because our region has oil and strategic positions. The secret of our retardation is that we are pre-occupied with daily problems.

Every day they create a new problem for us. Were we situated in Latin America, we would have great prestige as civilized Arabs. But our strategic position, the curse of the "oil", and the stupendous wealth which corrupts everyone--all of these have made us stay behind and abandon our cause. Thus, you see everyone here is in despair.

The cause [of democracy] no longer worries me, because some race after profit, while others fear even for their means of livelihood. Let us just have human rights and freedom. Democracy, as a system, has to be adapted to the country's situation.

For example, the parties want a definite [government] program, accountable persons and a press controlled by the leadership of these parties. However, if an individual wants to publish a newspaper, we should not say no, providing he is a responsible person who values the well-being of the nation and the phase through which we are passing.

It is not possible to resist the conspiracies, except through the complete unity of the people. However, the unity of the people cannot be without freedom. I, for example, do not identify with the regime, because I do not exist as far as it is concerned, and I am forbidden to express my opinion.

We want unity on the basis of freedom and information for organizations and individuals. It is the duty of both to take part in political life, in return for the rights they will enjoy.

If you talk to them in this vein, they will be at a loss to answer you. But when you say to them, democracy, they will answer that there is democracy in the Soviet Union and that they copied it. Or [they will tell you], look at democracy Saudi Arabia or at Lebanon. Democracy has destroyed Lebanon.

When you mention the word democracy, your position becomes defensive and theirs offensive, and they will triumph over you, because their argument is stronger. But if you mention human freedom, you express the feeling of every individual that his freedom is suppressed.

[Question] You say freedom. Freedom of man, to do what?

[Answer] The truth is that this question is irrelevant. Human freedom means that I, when faced with an issue, can have an opinion. Whether I am right or wrong is another matter. But I must be permitted to express my opinion or write it down. This is something understandable and clear.

No Unity Without Democracy

[Question] Do you not consider this impossible at this time?

[Answer] Naturally it is impossible, because the subject of freedom is a revolutionary subject, just as socialism, and unity used to be revolutionary subjects. The truth is that there can be no unity or socialism without

democracy. Thus, it is our duty to place freedom in the first row and at the head of our democratic goals. This is a revolutionary issue which calls for militant action, since it is not accepted.

The Sectarian Climate in Syria

[Question] Is it possible to state that a crisis of freedom has begun to appear?

[Answer] A crisis of freedom exists in every Arab country. But in Syria, it is more pronounced than in any other country, because of the dominance of the army, and, because as a result of discrimination, it has taken on a sectarian character. That is not to say that specific individuals are sectarian, but the climate is such. This is the feeling of the people. If the rain falls, they say it is caused by the sectarian regime, and if the sun shines, they say it is caused by the sectarian regime. As I see it, this will disappear when freedom comes. With freedom, discrimination will disappear. Right or wrong, the people are influenced by this climate. They say that the army is totally 'Alawi, although this is not correct. They say that the intelligence posts are all 'Alawi. I know that the non-'Alawis are worse than the 'Alawis, but there is a problem in Syria non-existent in the other Arab countries. It is what is called "the sectarian problem." It is more dangerous than it is in Lebanon. Lebanon's situation with regard to the distribution of official positions does not depart from tradition. But Syria has always been a nationalist country. A Christian at one time became prime minister. Therefore, there is no distinction in Syria between Christian and Muslim, or among Muslims. There is no requirement that certain office holders should not belong to specific sects. It is the present climate which makes them look sectarian.

In Syria, the climate is distinct from that in other Arab countries in which there is freedom for man as an individual. Here [in Syria] the situation is frightening. It frightens me all the more, because it could lead to a civil war and the break up of Syria as Lebanon has been broken up.

For this reason, treatment of the situation in Syria so that it may recover in a peaceful way requires great care. Peace is the best thing for eliminating this climate, and this cannot be achieved without the spread of freedom. Under the present regime, the citizen must act more responsibly than the ruler, in order to remedy the situation in a manner which overlooks the state of emergency which we are in.

The Importance of the Lebanese Entente

[Question] Do you think that what happened in Lebanon is the reason for what is happening in Syria?

[Answer] Of course, because Lebanon and Syria are one and the same thing. What happens in one country affects the other country. The entente in Lebanon, if it succeeds, will affect Syria, because it will prevent all

thought of analogy with Lebanon, in that Lebanon has been partitioned. If reunification returns to Lebanon, the people will infer from it, also by analogy, that partition in Lebanon has failed, and that any person who would think of partition will fail. I attach great importance to the success of an entente in Lebanon.

Is Israel the Cause?

[Question] Do you believe that the interested parties [in Lebanon] will succeed in that?

[Answer] And willing, it will happen. But Israel is trying to ignite the situation and is still striking at some regions in Lebanon.

An Opposition in Syria

[Question] Is it possible for President Hafez al-Assad to avert [a collapse]?

[Answer] Right now, there is an attempt to expand the National Front, but this is not the remedy. The remedy is the formation of an opposition. The National Front has no [legitimate] authority. Expanding it means bringing into it others under the same regime. It is the front of the regime and the party of the government. They figure that this attempt will lessen or end the crisis. In my opinion, it will not end the crisis or lessen it. Rather, a democratic political opposition front, capable of preventing a popular explosion which may lead to a civil war, must be formed. Therefore, great wisdom is needed to remedy the situation.

Comprehending the Syrian Situation

[Question] What would be the alternative solution if the opposition front does not materialize?

[Answer] The solution is sincere political communication [with the people] based on a clear understanding of the present situation, and not by means of the intelligence bureau. This requires immediate genuine understanding of what is happening in Syria where there is a crisis unequalled in the other Arab states. I already mentioned the sectarian climate, and I said that this does not mean that Hafez al-Assad or others are sectarian. For this reason, I say that peaceful, democratic criticism must be made possible, and the Lebanese entente must be facilitated. Government officials in Syria must become mindful of the gravity of the situation.

Syria and Iraq

[Question] Concerning the return of serenity to relations between Iraq and Syria, can a new, positive climate between them be restored?

[Answer] Although I estimate the likelihood to be slight, this would be useful, not harmful. However, each regime fears the other regime. If the fear were to disappear, relations would not be based on it. The rulers could then relax and discuss a real solution to the crisis.

The National Charter

[Question] With regard to Iraqi President Saddam Husayn's announcement of a National Charter, do you believe it is an initiative to extend a hand of friendship to all the Arab countries?

[Answer] In Syria there is no feeling for compromise.

[Question] Then, how can the disintegration be stopped and good relations restored?

[Answer] It will not be brought about without democracy. A scheme is useless, unless it is for the long term. It must begin with major repeated efforts to persuade the masses of the fact that the scheme provides the right solution.

No Organized Opposition Outside Syria

[Question] The opposition outside Syria--can it, by whatever action, undertake to return matters to normal?

[Answer] In truth, an organized Syrian opposition does not exist outside Syria. There are individuals who do not support the regime, and their influence is slight. The real opposition is inside, and it manifests itself in acts of violence. [end of answer]

At this point, the interview came to an end. But there remains a great many questions which every [Syrian] citizen must ask himself, especially regarding the execution of the Sadat conspiracy of surrender and talks on Palestinian autonomy. The citizen should consider that Syria now represents the bastion of Arab steadfastness confronting Israel, and that her collapse would mean the Arab collapse.

From this standpoint, supporting and backing Syria must override all other considerations and take precedence over them. This would provide a clear reply to the question which Algerian President Bendjedid posed to the Arab heads of state he met on his recent trip: "Do you want to see the flag of Israel raised in your countries?"

Therefore, the conference of the nations of steadfastness and resistance as well as all the Arabs face historic responsibilities of the utmost importance and sensitivity vis a vis the current situation. Let us hope that the future will favor the interest of the Arab citizen and his commitment to the present and the future. In spite of everything, we must be optimistic.

PROVISIONS OF CONSCRIPTION BILL EXAMINED

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 12 May 80 p 3

[Article by Muhammad Lutfi, Farid Wajdi and Muhammad 'Abd-al-Karim: "Everything About Conscription Law; Youth Elite Will Shoulder Their National Responsibility; Determination of Cases of Conscription Postponement and of Temporary and Final Conscription Exemption; Retaining All Promotions and Pay Increases for Conscript and Addition of Military Service to Period of Work"]

[Text] The UAE National Assembly's Defense and Interior Committee completed in a closed session yesterday discussing the conscription bill after it had been returned to the Council of Ministers to introduce some amendments to it. The meeting was attended by Muhammad Ibn Rashid, the minister of defense, who expressed to the committee his views on the proposed amendments.

Muhammad Ibn Rashid, the minister of defense, has told AL-ITTIHAD that this bill seeks to have the youth elite participate in the national responsibility and asserted that the law will be beneficial to the state and that it represents an important step toward laying down the foundations of military education among the youth and among the various sectors of the people because all will take part in carrying arms to defend the homeland against external dangers. This is in addition to the social protection that the law will provide when approved because it will safeguard the youth who are forced to drop out of school at the various stages of education, considering that it will provide them with another means to offer their services to this homeland.

State Citizens Are Equal

His excellency the minister of defense added that in compliance with the instructions of His Highness Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan Al Nahayyan, the head of state and the supreme commander of the armed forces, regarding preparation of the conscription law, consideration has been given in preparing the bill to the state's manpower situation, to the general educational standard and to the state's ambitious plan for building, development and for scientific and technological progress, without allowing this bill to stand as an obstacle in the face of the state's aspirations to realize its goals.

His excellency has asserted that all the state citizens are equal before the conscription law and that it makes no distinction among them, that efforts have been exerted to make this bill flexible so as to make it possible to establish a balance between the citizen's wish to participate in paying the blood tax and his aspirations for learning, education and work, that the bill has taken into consideration avoiding the causing of any material or social damage resulting from the youth enrollment in the various form of military service, that adequate guarantees have been provided to protect the youth and their families and to insure their lives in case they are exposed to danger while performing their military service and that sufficient guarantees have been included to secure youth enrollment in the armed forces in times of peace and of war through cooperation with the various state agencies.

Continuing his statement, Muhammad ibn Rashid, the minister of defense, asserted that the Ministry of Defense will draw up all the regulations, instructions and bylaws that guarantee the implementation of this law and that turn it into a tangible reality insofar as the citizens and the people are concerned.

Postponement of Conscription

Rezaed Rashedah, the UAE National Assembly deputy speaker, has told AL-ITTIHAD that the assembly has the power to make any amendments on the bill referred to it for discussion.

Salih Ahmed al-Shal, the committee rapporteur, has stated that it is the opinion of Muhammad ibn Rashid, the minister of defense, that any conscript sustaining a 60 percent disability be treated as a martyr, that conscription for university students be postponed to the age of 32 years instead of 29 years, that the period of conscription for conscripts with university qualifications be 9 months, for those with middle-level qualifications be 12 months and for those with no qualifications be 18 months.

Reserve Service

AL-ITTIHAD has learned that the bill will exclude the periods of absence and of permission from the service period which will begin on the date the conscript joins the service. The conscription will be divided into two basic periods: the active service period in which the citizen is conscripted and is turned from a civilian into a soldier and which includes training and living in the [military] units. The second period is the reserve service period in which the conscript will be on immediate recall and during which he may be called for either annual training or when he is needed. This reserve period has been set at 8 years and 3 months for conscripts with higher qualifications, 9 years for conscripts with middle-level qualifications and 7.5 years for conscripts with no qualifications.

Temporary Exemption Rules

AL-ITTIHAD has also learned that the conscription bill contains the following rules which govern the conditions of temporary conscription postponement and exemption:

Conscription will be postponed for the following categories:

School students up to the age of 24 years.

University and higher institute students up to the age of 31 years.

Students studying at home or abroad for degrees such as the M.A. or the Ph.D. up to the age of 34 years.

The younger brother of a conscript until the conscript completes his service or the period during which he is on recall.

Persons assigned by decree to one of the ministries because of the dire need for their services, provided that the assignment is on a decree by the Council of Ministers, up to the age of 34 years in time of peace.

The following categories will be given a temporary exemption from conscription:

The only son to a father or a mother for as long as he is the only son.

The sole supporter of a father, provided that the father is disabled because of a physical defect or of disease or because the father has reached the age of 60.

The sole supporter of a mother, provided that the mother is a widow or a woman divorced finally or that her husband is unable to earn a living because of a disability or provided that he has reached the age of 60.

The sole supporter of a brother, provided that the brother is unable to earn a living because of a physical defect or of disease or that he has reached the age of 60.

The sole supporter of a sister, provided that the sister is a widow, a woman divorced finally or a woman who has not been married altogether.

Persons sentenced to prison terms and persons detained throughout the period of their interrogation.

A person surpassing the age of 35 years while being exempted temporarily shall be given a final exemption.

Final Exemption From Service

The following categories shall be exempted from performing the military service:

Persons working by a government decree as state guard guarding the chairman and members of the union's Supreme Council.

Volunteers working as members of the armed forces or of the police, provided that their recruitment period is no less than 3 years.

Students of the military colleges, institutes and schools in case they continue to study at these schools until graduation. The period these students spend in these schools, institutes and colleges shall be considered for all purposes a part of the military service period, provided that it is no less than 6 months uninterrupted by any sick leave or prison term.

Armed Forces Wages

The conscription bill also defines the financial treatment rules as follows:

Conscripts shall be paid wages for their conscription period in accordance with the rules in operation in the armed forces and the conscripts shall enjoy the promotions and the periodic wage increases specified by these rules.

In case conscripts are called for reserve service, the conscript recalled for this service shall be paid the wages of the rank that is a step higher than the rank in which the conscript was put on reserve, plus the reserve recall allowance as determined by the deputy supreme commander of the armed forces and by the financial bylaws of the armed forces.

In case the conscript recalled for reserve service is working in a ministry, a government agency or a firm, the civilian employer shall continue to pay the conscript's wages, provided that the armed forces pay him the rank differential and the reserve recall allowance.

Service Reward

At the end of their conscription, conscripts shall be paid a service reward in accordance with the financial bylaws on which a decree shall be issued by the deputy supreme commander of the armed forces, provided that the conscript's conduct is rated as "good."

The promotions and allowances due to a civil servant or an employee shall be retained during his conscription period as if the conscript were on the job. The period of his conscription shall be added to the period of his work as employee or civil servant and shall be calculated as special service for the purpose of his pension or his reward.

The conscript shall enjoy all the medical treatment and social service rights given to the members of the armed forces. He and his family shall be treated in the military hospitals at the expense of the armed forces throughout the period of active conscription.

In case the conscript sustains an injury or is martyred during the active service period or when he is recalled to reserve service, the social security and pension law in force in the armed forces shall be applied to him without the deduction of two percent of his wages during the period of his conscription or his reserve service.

During his active conscription, the conscript shall enjoy all the vacations specified by the armed forces, work circumstances permitting. In case, it is impossible to give the conscript his annual vacations, he shall be granted a cash allowance in accordance with the instructions and orders regulating such payment in the armed forces.

The conscript shall also be entitled to the end-of-service 15-day vacation which shall be given to him at the end of this active service and before he is placed on reserve and shall be calculated as part of the reserve service period.

During the period of his conscription, the conscript may enroll in an evening school, work circumstances permitting, provided that this is done with the approval of the conscript's commander and with the ratification of the commanders of areas and districts.

8494

CSO: 4802

CITIZENS RESPOND FAVORABLY TO CONSCRIPTION BILL

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 14 May 80 p 3

[Article by Muhammad Lutfi and Muhammad 'Abd-al-Karim: "Young Citizen's View of Conscription Law: Law Is First Phase to Bolster Army; Military Service Provides Youth With Social Protection; Real Test of Law Is Its Application to All"]

[Text] The conscription bill in its final form will be presented to the union's National Assembly in the next few days now that it has been amended and discussed by the assembly's Defense and Interior Committee.

The goal of this bill, as stated by Defense Minister Muhammad ibn Rashid, is to have the youth elite participate in the national responsibility and to lay down the foundations of military education among the youth and the various sectors of the people.

However, it remains for us to find out the response, opinion and observation of the man in the street on this bill.

Serious Step

'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Numan, the director of the Contracts and Bids Department of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, says: The conscription bill is a serious step to benefit from the broad capabilities of the youth in the sphere of the armed forces which now depend in their armament on the latest inventions of modern technology. Therefore, this armament requires a type of scientifically educated and qualified youth.

He further says: This law will provide social protection because it will preserve the youth who drop out of school in the various stages of education, considering that it provides them with another way to offer their services to the homeland.

Magnificent... But

Ahmad Jasim, a student at the Emirates University, believes that the provisions of this bill have taken into consideration the citizen's wishes to realize his aspirations for learning, education and work and his wish to pay the

blood tax. The bill has also provided adequate guarantees to protect the youth and their families and to insure their lives when they are exposed to danger.

But there remains one thing, namely that the law be applied to all without discrimination.

Meanwhile, Salim 'Ubayd says that military service is the national duty of every youth of the UAE and that whoever wants a happy life for himself, for his family and for his homeland must pay the tax of defending the country.

Service and Vacuum

A citizen who has refused to have his name revealed has stated that the conscription law has been issued too soon, especially since the numbers of scientifically educated and qualified youths are small. Consequently, if these youths are conscripted there will be a void in the civilian life that requires expertise in the various spheres of work. He asserted that military life will be hard on the citizen in the first stage and that it may lead to psychological frustration.

This citizen has further said that the period of 9 months of conscription for a university graduate will not be at all sufficient for this conscript to absorb the military subjects and the weapons, either theoretically or practically.

He has recommended that the military service be performed over interspersed periods and during the various stages of a student's schooling because this approach will raise the conscript's ability to endure the conscription period after graduation.

This citizen has also suggested that students proven to have failed academically be conscripted immediately and regardless of their ages because a person who has failed in a certain direction may prove successful in another sphere.

Service and Bolstering Army

'Abdallah Lawtah, director of the Purchase Department of the Ministry of Finance and Industry, has stressed his support for the conscription bill, especially in this phase through which the Arab Gulf area is passing because the state needs the participation of its true sons in defending its land, its security and its safety. He has said that conscription is the national duty of every citizen and is a tax that must be shouldered by all men and women.

Lawtah has pointed out that conscription is considered the first step in bolstering a state's army and has suggested that military subjects be taught as basic subjects in schools and that they be applied practically after students graduate from universities.

He had also pointed out that the conscription period for a university graduate, a nine-month period according to the bill, is adequate, provided that military subjects are taught during the various schooling stages. Lawtah has further pointed out that the bill makers have taken the social circumstances surrounding the citizen into consideration, as is evident in the exceptions determined in accordance with the articles published by AL-ITTIHAD.

'Abdallah Lawtah has underlined the youth's role, their serious participation and their effective contribution to the various spheres for the sake of building the UAE and its prosperity.

Ahmad Lutfi, the director of public relations at the Ministry of Finance and Industry (32 years old), has expressed his support and welcome for the law. He has also expressed his readiness to join the military service immediately in order to participate in the tax of defending the homeland and of shouldering the responsibility of participation in the noblest field, namely the field of soldiery.

Lutfi has said that the bill currently under discussion will be issued at the right time, especially since we are living in an area considered a flammable area at present. He has pointed out that the youth reaction to the issue of conscription and of military service will depend on the degree of guidance and enlightenment provided by those concerned with military affairs.

Self-Reliance

Anwar Muhammad Qurqash (22 years), a junior at the George Washington University's School of Political Science, says that military service will constitute a firm foundation that teaches youth self-reliance amidst the pattern of reliance and dependence on the services offered by the state--a generally widespread pattern.

However, this law will have negative aspects, embodies primarily in increased shortages in young manpower in the various state sectors as a result of the conscription of youth.

The positive aspects of the law are numerous, the first being the citizens' participation with their lives and their souls to repel dangers from the homeland, especially under the current circumstances and under the shadow of the constant threats of intervention in the Gulf. Conscription will also implant in us the military spirit and will teach us to be ready and alert to confront these dangers.

The university student adds that the country's youth will respond to the national call and that the demand for conscription will be strong, especially among the country's educated youth who believe in paying the tax of blood and in the need to fulfill the sacred national duty.

Qarqash has stressed the need for preparing a military educational and information campaign to familiarize the youth with their duties and their rights upon approval of the law so that the youth may be prepared psychologically to perform this national duty. The campaign should be interspersed with ample explanation of the conscription rules and of the methods to join the military service, as well as a complete explanation of the articles of the law. The Ministries of Information, Defense and Education should take part in this campaign so that it may be an information campaign at the level of all the youth sectors and so that it may make matters as clear as possible.

8494

CSO: 4802

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE PLANS TO ENTER SPHERE OF FOOD PRODUCTION

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 13 May 80 p 3

[Article by Farid Wajdi: "Text of Two Memoranda Approved by Council of Ministers Yesterday; Ministry of Agriculture Enters Sphere of Production for First Time in Cooperation With Arab and International Firms to Achieve Food Security"]

[Text] Dubai--In its meeting yesterday under His Highness Shaykh Rashid ibn Sa'id Al Maktum, the vice president and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers approved two extremely significant memoranda presented by Sa'id al-Raqbani, the minister of agriculture and of fish resources. The first memorandum deals with the role of the ministry in realizing food security in the country and the second deals with the requests of fishermen for fishing requirements (marine and fishing equipment) estimated at 6.9 million dirhams.

The first memorandum says:

To us, food security is a distinctive reality because of the future challenges it means for our national security, our life and our prosperity. Our national agricultural potentials are limited because of our climatic conditions and our natural resources. There is an ever-increasing demand for food, despite the increase in international food prices. This has led to the increased value of the state's food imports (47 million dirhams in 1969, 105 million dirhams in 1973 and 1,698,000,000 dirhams in 1978).

Agricultural production relies on individual efforts supported by the state. Even though there is an increase in production, it is not at the same rate by which the demand for food is increasing. Moreover, the type of production is confined to the kinds that the individual farmer wants and does not take into consideration the country's food security requirements. Even though the subsidy to the farmers has increased and the services offered by the ministry have been expanded and even though the increase and expansion have been coupled with an increase in the sums allocated for the ministry for this purpose, all this has not been able to produce a solution for our food security. We believe that the solution lies in government intervention in the production process--an intervention aimed at setting up projects that produce crops that the farmer does not produce on the one hand or produce in the periods when the farmer cannot produce because these periods require high technology and skills that need big capital.

Production Plan

On the basis of the aforementioned, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources appeals to the esteemed council to approve its plan to enter the sphere of production in the various possible fields necessary for our food security either directly through our local agencies and through seeking the assistance of Arab and international advisers and expertise or through partnership with specialized firms, be they Arab or foreign, along with encouraging the establishment of national firms to take part in this field.

Our ministry proposes that the esteemed council issue a decree approving its agricultural production plan in order to realize food security on the following bases:

Empowering the ministry to implement production projects that contribute toward producing plant, animal and fish food.

The ministry will implement such projects either directly through its agencies and through seeking the aid of Arab and international experts and advisers or through partnership with specialized national, Arab and international companies, depending on what the ministry deems to be in the interest of raising food production locally.

The ministry will begin implementing this decree by carrying out the projects included in the ministry's budget for this year and considered joint production projects. The ministry should be given the freedom to act and to implement these projects. Ministerial decrees (issued by the Permanent Projects Committee) should define the ideal method of implementation, depending on the state's supreme interest.

The ministry will issue invitations for bids to implement the subsidy projects approved in its budget and requiring speedy implementation, provided that the bids be awarded by the Permanent Projects Committee. The minister of agriculture and fish resources should then issue the decrees and regulations necessary to implement these projects in accordance with the country's supreme interest.

The ministry should prepare the required studies for the other production projects needed for food security and should present them in the ministry budget to be approved by the authorities concerned in light of the bases agreed upon.

The ministry hopes that the esteemed council will issue its decree empowering the ministry to implement the production projects on the basis of the aforementioned principles as a first practical step to meet the state's food needs and to realize our desired food security.

Meeting Requests of 37 Fishermen

The memorandum of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources regarding the requests of fishermen says:

It is well known that the loan system adopted by the ministry stresses that fishermen must pay one half the value of the fish production equipment that the ministry gives them and that they are considered partners with the right to select the type of machinery, boats and equipment that suit them. This is in contrast to what is being done at present and which amounts to giving the fishermen whatever equipment the ministry can offer them with the resources available to them. The ministry has made a count of the fishermen who have submitted requests for boats and naval equipment and has calculated the value of what they have requested. The value of this equipment exceeds the maximum sum of the fishing loans that the ministry offers and that amount to 150,000 dirhams per fisherman so that the benefits of these loans may spread to the largest number of fishermen.

However, the number of fishermen who have submitted requests for loans exceeding the maximum is 37 fishermen, including 16 fishermen from Abu Dhabi, 10 from Dubai, 8 from Sharjah and 3 from 'Ajman. The value of the equipment and the boats that they have requested amounts to nearly 7 million dirhams. Meanwhile, the ministry expects loan requests to increase by 50 percent before the end of the current year.

Therefore, the ministry hopes that the esteemed council will provide a sum of 6.9 million dirhams from the general reserve of the 1980 budget to purchase the boats and equipment needed for fish production and costing more than 150,000 dirhams [per fisherman], provided that the grant [subsidy] amount to 75,000 dirhams or one half the sum of the loan determined by the ministry and that the rest be paid in monthly installments over a period specified by the ministry.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

DUBAI MUNICIPALITY BUDGET--Report by Farid Wajdi--The Dubai Municipality budget has doubled 220 times in the past 20 years, thus integrating the health and development services and organizing the commercial businesses, information and social affairs and public services in a manner compatible with the human and development growth witnessed by the city and its suburbs since 1960. Dubai Municipality started its activities in 1960 with a budget of 300,000 dirhams and this budget has grown until it reached 650 million dirhams this year. The number of employees appointed in the municipality's various sections has increased from 40 employees in 1960 to 874 employees this year, or by 210 percent [sic], and the number of laborers has increased from 120 to 3,568 workers, or by 295 percent [sic]. The number of sections has increased from 3 to 31 sections, or by 1,000 percent. The number of vehicles has increased 47 times and has now reached 470 vehicles that are used in transporting the employees, in sewerage, health, park and electricity services and other services. Before 1961, the municipality's activities were limited and did not go beyond health and construction services but the municipality has kept up pace with development and it now has sections that deal with health affairs and with food control and restaurant and hotel control, in addition to issuing health licenses and certificates and to exercising control over all matters pertaining to the city's preventive medicine. The municipality is also in charge of construction affairs, of supervising construction and building, of issuing [building] permits, of planning the city and its streets, of providing the necessary maintenance for them, of regulating businesses and commercial agencies, of settling disputes among merchants, of issuing commercial licenses, of granting concessions to factories and of encouraging the national industry, in addition to taking care of information affairs, issuing licenses for publication houses, bookshops, printing presses and film, publication and entertainment censorship. [Text] [Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIRAD in Arabic 15 May 80 p 2] 8494

FIVE-YEAR AGRICULTURAL PLAN--Report by Nazik al-Muhammadi--The Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources, with the aid of the experts from the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, has begun preparing a complete five-year agricultural plan for the UAE in implementation of a decree by the Council of Ministers. An official agreement has been concluded between the UAE and the organization for the purpose. The agreement was signed by Engineer Hamad 'Abdallah Salman, the undersecretary of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Salman has stated that the plan seeks to turn the ministry's activities toward production projects through joint establishments that carry out agricultural production operations directly, through establishing a crop cycle befitting the state's food needs and through increasing the number of pioneer production projects with the participation of the farmers in order to realize greater self-sufficiency and to guarantee the production of vegetables and fruits in the country throughout the year. Referring to the goals of this plan, Salman said that in addition to what it will realize, this plan will also preserve what is in existence at present, will support the producers in their lands and in their vocation, will keep the farmers in their lands and the fishermen in their boats and will facilitate their work by introducing the modern means of production. He added that the ministry is currently formulating its visualization of the future agricultural development plan in the light of the studies and research already carried out. The ministry has submitted a request to the Council of Ministers to purchase the production requirements with the knowledge of the ministry so that they may be made available to the farmers no less than 4 months before the start of the planting season. He has also said that the Council of Ministers has approved a memorandum submitted by the ministry for the purchase of 63 tractors to meet the needs of the farmers for ploughing equipment, that the Ministry of Finance and Industry is completing the purchase procedures and implementing the contracts for the equipment and machinery needed for carrying out the agricultural plan. [Text] (Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 15 May 80 p 1) 8494

CSO: 4802

POLISARIO'S CAPTURE OF FISHING BOAT CAUSES PROBLEMS

Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Jun 80 p 7

[Article by C.V.]

[Text] In a communique published in Algiers on Wednesday, 11 June, the POLISARIO Front gave a list of the 14 members of the crew of a Spanish fishing boat captured by its forces on 22 May 1980. The Front reaffirmed the sovereignty of the Saharan Republic over its territorial waters. In Madrid, where the government's position in the Saharan conflict has been sharply criticized by the opposition, it is felt that this action by the POLISARIO Front has the purpose of exerting pressure on Spain for recognition of the Saharan Republic.

Madrid--Spain is following a policy which is situated equidistant between Algeria and Morocco in the Saharan conflict, which often causes it to have enemies. The most recent example: last week, the POLISARIO Front sank the Canary boat "Garmo-Mar" and took its 15-man crew hostage. The trawler was off the Saharan coast in a zone under Moroccan jurisdiction but claimed by the Saharans. In a related connection, there have been numerous inspections of Spanish boats by the Moroccan coast guard. Rabat states that this involves boats caught in irregular situations; however, the Spanish public at every incident wonders about the usefulness of the fishing treaty signed with the Moroccan Government in 1978 which the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Worker's Party] and the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] had sharply contested and which the Moroccan parliament has not yet ratified.

Foreign Minister Marcelino Oreja gave a report on the situation Wednesday, 4 June, before a parliamentary committee; however, his explanations did not satisfy the Socialist Party. The minister said that the government would not yield to the latest POLISARIO blackmail. Two years ago, the Centrist Party of Adolfo Suarez signed a treaty in Algiers recognizing the POLISARIO Front as the "sole representative of the Saharan people in struggle"; in consideration thereof, a crew which had been captured under the same circumstances by the Front was released after several months of captivity in the desert.

Oreja said that Madrid would maintain its neutrality in the conflict and would continue to support the right of the Saharan people to self-determination. He compared the problems encountered by Spain with the impunity enjoyed by the Soviet fleet which is very active in those waters. According to him, the USSR recognizes Moroccan sovereignty over the Saharan waters but since it at the same time is delivering arms to the POLISARIO the USSR has no difficulties when its boats fish in the Saharan bank. The Spanish Government had been warned a week in advance of a possible strike by the POLISARIO; however, it was in no position to protect its fleet. At present, about 500 Spanish boats are to be found in waters situated between the Canary archipelago and the Moroccan coast, waters which are among the richest in the world in fish and shellfish. Oreja did not rule out the possibility of their withdrawal--temporarily or permanently--from the disputed zones, for lack of ability to assure their security.

By holding the Spanish fisherman hostage, is the POLISARIO seeking to exert pressure on the Madrid Government on the eve of the OAU summit to force it to recognize the Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara? Does it propose to disrupt the fishing negotiations which Madrid currently is engaged in with Rabat? These are questions being asked in the Spanish capital. Once again, the opposition is taking foreign policy of the Suarez government to task, which is described as "uncertain." Some journalists are even asking of what use is the "traditional policy of friendship" with the Arab countries. They write: by attempting to play all its cards in the Maghreb, Spain is taking all the blows. It is the only country in Western Europe which has not recognized Israel; however, it is not treated any better than the others by Arab oil producers. Moreover, Algeria, Libya, South Yemen and Lebanon have gone so far as to train ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] commandos in their countries.

8143

CSO: 4400

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

ENERGY SHORTAGE SEEN AS SIGNIFICANT FUTURE PROBLEM

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Saqqaf: "Problem of Energy in Yemen"]

[Text] The burden imposed on our economy by our imports of oil derivatives is bigger than most people imagine. Moreover, the prevalent belief that we get a generous Arab subsidy in this regard is not correct.

When some foreign countries complain about rising oil prices and search for solutions for them, the Arabs listen indifferently as if the matter doesn't concern them. What I want to say here is that the oil price crisis is a problem that concerns some Arabs at least, and we are among them. The burden imposed on our economy by our imports of oil derivatives is bigger than people imagine. Moreover, the belief that we get a generous Arab subsidy in this regard is not correct.

Permit me first to review with you the development of oil consumption in our country. In 1970, our imports of oil products did not exceed 83,000 lineal tons. But these imports have risen steadily and have reached 800,000 lineal tons this year. It is expected that they will exceed 1.5 million tons in the mid-1980's. The causes of these increases are axiomatic and are connected with the growth and development process. The plants that we are building, the power generators, the water pumps, the farm machinery, the many cars and other equipment require an oil derivative for their operation. All these factors are expanding and this will lead to increased oil consumption. Increased consumption is only one half the problem. The other half lies in the constant rise in prices. Insofar as the Yemeni oil purchases are concerned, the compound average annual increase in the value of oil products in the 1970's has amounted to 60 percent. In other words, our spending on oil imports has risen from 4 million dollars in the early 1970's to nearly 200 million dollars this year. For the sake of comparison, Yemen used to purchase the lineal ton of oil for nearly 30 dollars whereas it pays at present approximately 300 dollars for the same ton.

I have already said that the volume of our oil imports will rise day after day with the expansion in the economic activities. Therefore, attention

must be paid as of now to planning aimed at guiding and streamlining oil consumption. At the same time, support must be continued for the Public Establishment for Oil and Mineral Resources so that it may be able to perform its tasks. On the other hand, we must continue to explain these problems that emanate from the decisions of the oil countries, especially the Arab oil countries. The economic burden shouldered by our country is not a small one:

First, there is the financial drain and its impact on the trade balance in particular and on the balance of payments generally. For example, the Yemeni Oil Company opens at present credit facilities amounting at the average to 20 million dollars monthly for the importation of oil derivatives. This is in addition to the enormous sums that leak out of the country to pay for smuggled oil. All the people know about the presence of a subsidy from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to cover some of the costs of oil spending. But what the people don't know is that this subsidy did not exceed 4.5 million dollars last year, a sum which is not equal to what we spend on our oil consumption in one week. Moreover, Yemen does not get a special price from the Kuwaiti Oil Company which supplies us with our needs of oil derivatives. Rather, the Kuwaiti company has notified the Yemeni Oil Company that it will no longer accept the previous payment terms in accordance with which the Yemeni company used to pay 20 percent of the value of its imports at the time when the credit was opened and the rest at the time when the oil shipments and documents were received. As of this year, the Kuwaiti company has insisted on collecting the entire sum in advance and this has upset the financial situation of the Yemeni Oil Company.

Second, the constant rise in oil prices fuels the fires of inflation in Yemen. This phenomenon has come to be known as the imported inflation. Oil derivatives play a basic role in running the plants, the vehicles, the agricultural machinery, the pumps, the generators and other equipment.

Therefore, the rise in the price of oil derivatives leads to increasing the costs of transportation and communication, of electricity, of industrial products, agricultural products and others. These increases lead to raising the cost of living and this forces the service sector, the craftsmen and those engaged in the free professions to demand higher wages to counter this rising cost of living. Thus, and as a result of economic compounding, the imported inflation generates parallel domestic inflation. It is my estimate that the constant increases in the prices of oil derivatives are directly responsible for nearly 25 percent of the inflation from which we are suffering.

Third, there is the phenomenon of reliance on an imported commodity which, if made unavailable, can lead to a near halt in our life. This is in addition to the fact that we do not possess any noteworthy reserves. The total [oil] reserves of Yemen are enough to meet the needs of 3 weeks only. Meanwhile, there aren't in San'a', the capital, enough reserves for a single week's consumption. Increasing the reserves requires investments in the

means of storage. There is also the problem of transportation. The company owns 60 [tanker] trucks only, helped by 150 privately-owned trucks. Yet, there is a constant shortage in this regard. Moreover, shipping by trucks causes a big loss amounting to two percent of the quantity shipped. Thus, our loss from leakage and from evaporation amounted to 17.5 million dollars last year.

Moreover, the port itself cannot accommodate big oil tankers and this compels the big tankers to cast anchor outside the port. Smaller tankers are then used to transport the oil to the port.

In this article, I have tried to give an idea of the oil and energy problems in our country. In another article, we will discuss the right solutions for these problems.

8494

CSO: 4802

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

MINISTER DISCUSSES EFFORTS, PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 1 May 80 p 5

[Interview With Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahud, Minister of Agriculture, by Samir al-Sinnari: "Fish Is Important Source of Animal Protein; Fishes Are One of Important Mainstays for Overcoming Meat Crisis; Fishes Are Cheapest Source for Supplying Body With Protein"]

[Text] AL-THAWRAH's "Agricultural Development" page is glad to have had another interview with Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, the Consultative Council member and the minister of agriculture, upon his return to the homeland.

[Question] His Excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, the Ministry of Agriculture is witnessing these days extensive movement in all the agricultural production sectors. The latest of these movements is your excellency's work visit to Washington in the United States. Will your excellency tell us the reasons for this visit?

[Answer] This visit has been complementary to the previous studies conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture in cooperation with a number of international organizations and the World Bank with the aim of developing the fish resources, of enhancing the fish production rates and of introducing the scientific methods followed in transporting and marketing fish in the local consumption areas so as to meet the citizens' needs of this important food commodity in the various parts of the republic, especially since we suffer at present from a shortage of animal protein sources and since we resort to importation to meet this shortage. This importation leaves a negative impact on our national economy at a time when we have the alternative to meet the citizens' animal protein needs. Fishes are considered one of the alternatives.

As a result of the abovementioned, I have visited Washington to sign this [sic] agreement.

[Question] His excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, would you kindly explain the reasons for your interest and the interest of the brother state officials in developing and enhancing the fish resources?

[Answer] The project to develop and process the fish resources is considered one of the first projects included in the aspirations of the first years of the life of the revolution since 1964, if my memory hasn't failed me. This project has not been implemented for various reasons. It was included within the projects of the first five-year plan and is considered a top priority project because we have long stretches of coastline on the Red Sea. These coasts have not been exploited in a well-studied scientific manner and no development has been introduced in the fish production and marketing means from ancient times and to the present. The utilization of this resource has relied on backward production means and this fact has been reflected in the modest fish production level and has resulted in relatively high fish prices, in addition to the inability to supply fish to the various parts of the republic in safe and sanitary ways.

One of the goals of the present project is to set up, as a first stage, central markets in the main areas equipped with modern means and with a fleet of special trucks to transport fish to the various areas.

[Question] His Excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, is the World Bank's participation in the sphere of fish development considered a form of aid or a loan and what is the value of this participation?

[Answer] The agreement initialled by the Yemeni Government and the World Bank stipulates that the bank shall advance to the Ministry of Agriculture in accordance with this agreement a loan of 17 million dollars at an interest rate of 3/4 [sic] percent and payable over a period of 50 years to be used in improving the fish resources, developing their production and improving the means used to market fish production so that it may be supplied to the citizens in the various parts of the republic and so as to overcome the problem of the shortage in protein sources.

[Question] His Excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, would you please explain the most important advantages realized as a result of the conclusion of this agreement?

[Answer] This agreement will have its good results in the near future. As I have already pointed out, we have a long coastline and our territorial waters are vast and have not yet been utilized in a sound economic manner. Considering that we possess these long stretches of coastline, we should have been in the past one of the fish exporting countries and not a fish importing country, as we are at present. In the wake of the conclusion of this agreement, the results of developing the fish resources in our country will contribute to changing the present situation. In the first phase of implementation of the project, we will realize self-sufficiency in fish consumption. In the following phase we will, God willing, become one of the countries exporting fish and shrimp to fraternal and foreign countries.

We aspire to form a fleet of modern boats equipped with modern technological means to raise the production capability in parts of the Red Sea which local

fishermen cannot reach at present. Our aspirations for the coming phase also include the processing and exportation of shrimp and setting up a plant for powdered fish.

[Question] His Excellency Dr. 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, there is a final question which I hope you have the time to answer. Would you please explain to us the reasons for the small fish production in Yemen and the solutions that you view for overcoming this problem?

[Answer] The reasons for the poor expansion in the sphere of fish production are due in fact to numerous, interlaced and common obstacles that obstruct the development of this important sector. We have already discussed the solutions to these aspects in our answers to some of the preceding questions. In addition, we should mention the following:

1. The lack of sufficient interest by the current five-year plan in developing the fish resources and in enhancing fish production and the plan's negligence of a sector considered one of the most important sectors in the production of animal protein. This is in addition to the [plan's] failure to provide modern capabilities that contribute to the utilization of our territorial waters in a sound economic manner and that enhance the production capacity of our coastline.
2. The unavailability in the past of the financing necessary to utilize our resources. This problem has constituted a stumbling block in the face of developing and enhancing the production.
3. The shortage of the technical cadres specialized in this field has resulted in the lack of expansion in utilizing our marine resources in the best manner possible and in small production. This is in addition to the lack of interest in sending missions to the countries that are ahead of us in this sphere to benefit from their expertise, as well as the lack of interest in sending Yemeni cadres to these countries for training and for acquiring experience in this important sector.
4. The lack of interest in developing the fishing means that consist at present of small and primitive boats with limited production capacity and lacking the modern fishing equipment. This results in the inability to exploit the resources of our territorial waters to the maximum and the inability to engage in fishing in high seas.

Fishing has been confined to the vicinity of our coastline and, as a result, the production has been small.

5. Fish production is based on scientific principles, field research and extremely significant statistical data. This is what we have been lacking until very recently. As for the solutions that should be adopted to enhance and develop the fish resources, we have in fact started to follow the sound scientific method to realize our aspirations in the sphere of fish production. We now have the Public Fish Resources Organization and assisting experts who help in carrying out the studies on the development of the fish sector.

We are also sending the specialized Yemeni cadres to get training in numerous countries. We also keep in constant touch with all the studies connected with this sector so as to develop and improve it and to introduce the technology that suits our purposes. It pleases me to conclude my statements in this regard by repeating the words of almighty, may He be praised: "And He has employed the sea so that you may eat tender meat from it. God is always true."

Thanks to Dr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Muhammad, the Consultative Council member and the minister of agriculture, for giving us the opportunity of this interview. We hope that there will be more interviews so that the brother readers and farmers may be familiarized with all new developments in the sphere of agricultural production.

Until we meet with another agricultural production official next week, we wish you all the best.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE CONSTITUTES GOAL OF SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

San'a' AL-THAWRAH (Weekly Supplement) in Arabic 24 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Saqqaf: "Agricultural Industrialization as Goal of Second Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] The second five-year plan will have a rural inclination. In today's thought, I have tried to project my visualization of the meaning of this phrase and of what it seeks.

First, Stopping Impoverishment of Countryside:

The difference in life and in income between the Yemeni countryside on the one hand and the Yemeni cities and the neighboring countries on the other hand has led to the well-known waves of emigration that have left some villages almost empty of people. The countryside has lost the manpower that grew up in it and has thus lost the ability to meet the requirements of agriculture. I have seen with my own eyes the collapse of the terraces built by our forefathers. Our generation has not been able to maintain the terraces in as good a shape as it inherited them so that it may hand them over to the generation that follows us. Moreover, the lack of labor has led to letting crops rot on their branches and their stalks, something which causes the farmers enormous losses. The farmer is thus forced to abandon agriculture. For example, our country used to harvest nearly 30,000 tons of cotton annually and export it to the outside world. This is almost over. Moreover, leaving the land without cultivation causes it to lose its fertility.

The process of impoverishing the countryside is also embodied in the difference in the conditions of commercial exchange between the manufactured commodities whose prices are rising astronomically and the agricultural crops whose prices have almost remained unchanged. Not only this, the farmer pays, moreover, the revenues of his crops for long years to cover the costs of equipment and of primary materials. Add to these economic factors other factors, such as rains, pests, marketing problems and others, and it is no longer surprising that the farmer abandons his land and emigrates to work in the cities.

The second plan should seek to correct this situation. The wages paid are artificial and are not commensurate with the level of production. A wise economic policy in this regard can eliminate the difference in revenues from a similar unit of work in the city and the countryside. The state should also contribute toward overcoming the marketing, storage and shipping difficulties facing the rural products.

Second, Better Geographic Distribution of Investments:

The development process in our country has required large capital investments in the various spheres because our country's backwardness covers all sectors. But a quick glance at the geographic distribution of these investments demonstrates that the San'a'-Ta'izz-al-Hudaydah triangle gets the lion's share of these investments.

I may have misused the word triangle because the reader may think that I mean the area embraced by this triangle. I only mean the three cities as such. Most of, if not all of, the investments for electricity, water, sewerage, government buildings, airports, telephones and so forth are in the cities. There are no similar investments in the countryside.

In my view, the plan's rural inclination will be translated into bigger investments in the villages. Which is better: Building a hospital costing 20 million riyals in the city or building 20 clinics in 20 villages, for example? Whether in terms of equality, of revenues or of economic feasibility, the countryside is more deserving of the investments because of the evident change and effects that such investments have [in rural areas].

Third, Beginning of Sound Industrial Course:

The signs of industrialization have appeared in our country. Unfortunately, most of the private sector's industrial investments have been channelled toward luxury consumption, such as biscuits, icecream, carbonated drinks and so forth.

It is no secret to the reader that these plans generate no income and no purchasing power but rather seek to absorb incomes and purchasing power. Moreover, they earn no hard currency but rather lead to the loss of hard currency because they rely on imported materials. What is more, they are not replacement industries intended to replace imports but are rather industries that come to generate a demand that has not been there and then to nurture this demand.

Our country's development requires enhancing and industrializing the agricultural and animal production. We will thus achieve our goals which, I think, are the following:

Achieving progress for the largest number of Yemenis, and the largest number of Yemenis is in the countryside.

Achieving self-sufficiency to the utmost degree possible, especially in foodstuffs.

Repopulating the countryside.

Realizing a development based on fair geographic and class distribution.

Because our country lacks large mineral resources, it is our duty to turn to the industrialization of agriculture and of animal products. This inclination will open numerous and large investment vessels to the public and private sectors and will not cause us to get involved with the veneer of industries that are not suitable for us, keeping in mind that the lack of ambiguity of the saving and investment vessels is what stands as an obstacle between us and progress and industrialization. In my opinion, these vessels are available in the city only in spheres that do not serve the country's development.

Finally, field studies must be conducted in every area in order to study the kinds of its agricultural and animal products and the means to develop and industrialize them. Our use of our agricultural and animal capabilities does not exceed, according to the estimates of some experts, 40 percent of our production capacities in both said spheres. It is not enough to focus on increasing the agricultural production because such an increase will not realize, under the best conditions, a growth rate of more than six percent annually. Consequently, it is essential to link agricultural development with industrialization to achieve a high growth rates on the one hand and to meet the local market demands for processed agricultural and animal products on the other hand. This is a sensitive point, especially since the tendency to consume agricultural and animal products decreases with the constant rise of income. This means that price flexibility for manufactured products is higher. Moreover, the industrialization of agriculture diversifies the country's production base, in addition to increasing the state revenues, and this is something that increases local financing for the various projects. I wish our plan success in achieving these goals through concentrating on agriculture and agricultural industrialization.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

POST-REVOLUTIONARY STATUS OF WOMEN EXAMINED

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 Apr 80 p 5

[Article by Muhammad Sayf al-Sharjabi: "From Reality of Yemeni Woman"]

[Text] The Yemeni woman has proven that she can break the circle of isolation and can overcome obstacles. She has stood with her brother, the man, in the field of work since the beginning of the revolution. Perhaps the female workers of the textile factory are the best example of this fact.

She has also had the honor of taking part in defending the revolution and has stood to work for development.

Though women before the revolution were denied their simplest rights, the post-revolution woman has been able to express her aspirations and her ability to wrench her rights in full. We now see schools and the university crowded with Yemeni women in the various levels and stages of schooling. Women are also participating today with men in the various administrative and educational works.

Though city women have attained this status in short years, if compared to the obstacles that have faced the revolution, the rural woman is perhaps the forerunner in this regard.

Before the revolution, the rural woman stood tall next to the man and had her role and influence. Her effectiveness emerged through her participation with man in the field, in the house and in the pastures. The woman has always been the worker who has not lagged behind. Perhaps her role has exceeded that of the man who has been forced by the hard conditions of life to emigrate, often for long years, in search of a livelihood.

The woman has had to replace him as the farmer tending the land and the livestock and taking care of the children, if there are any. On top of all this, the Yemeni woman is a faithful and sacrificing woman that endures long years of loneliness, alienation and deprivation with a patience that never knows wavering, despair or retreat.

The poets have sung the praises of her patience and her endurance of the departure of loved ones and of hardships. A poet, speaking for women, has said:

Mas'ud has departed and left tragedies behind;
His absence has persisted and troubles have intensified.

This is a clear proof that the Yemeni woman has suffered the absence of her husband and the loss of her youth more than any other woman in the world. If we examine the progress of foreign women, we find that it dates back to a long time ago whereas the Yemeni woman did not find comfort and stability until after the triumphant September revolution that has given women the opportunity to participate with men in work, in earning a living, in the school, in the university and in several other spheres.

With my best wishes for greater development and prosperity for the Yemeni Women's Association.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

WOMEN'S GROUP WORKS FOR ENHANCED ROLE IN SOCIETY

San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 1 May 80 p 3

[Article: "Role Required of Women's Association"]

[Text] Has the Yemeni Women's Association been able to realize its goals? Has it been able to turn into a center where women gather to bring up and discuss all their issues?

Has the association been able to link itself to the Yemeni woman's reality and to understand the problems and concerns of this reality?

Can these questions be answered without knowing the beginning and development of the women's associations in the Arab world and their beginning and work in our country?

Beginning of Idea

Due to the relatively similar social conditions in the Arab situation, women were not allowed to form organizations or associations through which they could express themselves. But with the end of the Ottoman control over the Arab world, women's associations emerged as nearly the sole outlet for women to proceed and participate, even if only to a degree, in social life.

Those associations started in the form of religious associations and then assumed the form of social associations and their role was confined to aiding the poor and the sick and to advancing charities to poor families. This means that they were charitable associations that were not concerned with women's social and class status.

For a long time, women's associations in the Arab world maintained this quality of charitable associations.

Other Reality:

Some zealots bring up the issue of "equality between the Arab woman and the European woman" and even advocate the creation of Arab women's associations similar to women's associations and organizations there.

Those who advocate this idea do not differentiate between the Arab reality and the European reality and are not aware that the issues that preoccupy the mind of women in the European society are totally different from the issues with which our Arab women are concerned.

Some European women's associations and organizations have gone as far as antagonizing men and have called for destroying the social frameworks which they view as a shackle to women, not to mention the economic and political stances that these associations and organizations have adopted, i.e., women in West Europe are not participating in building but are calling for destruction of the systems that have restricted their freedom and turned them into a part in the system's machine.

Women's issues in our Arab situation are totally different. The Arab woman does not view man as her enemy. Rather, there are some men who adopt the women's demands. Moreover, the Arab woman is not advocating the destruction of any economic or political forms but advocating her being given the opportunity to participate in building, be it social, political or economic. Therefore, the call of the Arab woman takes the form of participation in building and development.

Women's Association in Our Country

After this quick glance at the beginnings of women's associations and the difference in their roles from one society to another, we get to the Yemeni Women's Association regarding which there are a number of questions that need to be answered:

What is this association's role in our Yemeni society?

Has it been able to realize its goals?

Has it been able to understand the real situation and to achieve something and to enhance this situation?

Fawziyah Nu'man, the official in charge of elementary and intermediate education and of girls' schools, says:

The Yemeni Women's Association has begun to perform its role, though in a simple form at present. It provides mothers who join it with training on various skills that are beneficial to the woman and to society. Fawziyah adds: In addition to these various skills that help to enhance the Yemeni woman, the association, in its capacity as the representative of women, has submitted a memorandum to the People's Assembly demanding that women be represented in this assembly and that their right to voting and election, in addition to other rights, be acknowledged.

Regarding the importance of this step for women and for the association as a step that constitutes a deviation from the well-known framework and a step that raises non-social demands, Fawziyah Nu'man further adds:

Women must be represented in the People's Assembly and must participate with men in everything. They must have the right to vote and their voice must reach everybody. When studies and solutions are drawn up for women's and family issues, we find that women do not take part at all in them and that women's opinions are not sought on such studies and solutions. Women being the closest people to their own problems and the people most knowledgeable in these problems, they are supposed to take part in formulating the solutions. This is why the association has demanded that women be represented in the People's Assembly.

Counter Opinion

There are numerous issues and problems in our Yemeni society. Have women been able to participate in solving them?

Arwa al-Da'iri, a student, says: We cannot say that the Women's Association has performed its role in the best manner possible. The association is actually a step in the right direction. But what has it done in regard to numerous problems?

Has it offered a solution to the problem of high dowries? Has it contributed to the eradication of illiteracy among women? It is not enough to teach embroidery and typing. The association must have a complete program to enhance the status of women and to enable them to take part in building the society. There are issues such as development and democracy awaiting women's participation.

Fatimah al-Rahbi says: The association has still a lot to do and I hope that its role will not be confined to offering services. You ask me why I and my colleague have not taken part in the association's activity. We have not been invited to participate and I believe that the association's efforts in this regard fall short. The association members must proceed to persuade other women to join the association.

In reply to the counter opinion, Fawziyah Nu'man answers: Insofar as high dowries are concerned, we have talked a lot on this issue. I believe that the issue is due to social causes. We have talked to some fathers and it has become evident that the high dowries are due to the greed and exploitation of some fathers or to their belief that a high dowry will protect their daughters against having their husbands taking a second wife and against divorce after a short marriage, especially since there is no law to protect the family in this regard. However, the state's adoption of a decree to reduce dowries is a good step. We had hoped that women's opinions would be taken and that women would participate in the decree.

As for the inadequacy of the association's efforts, this is due to the fact that it is a new association. We are in the process of encouraging every girl and woman to participate in the association and in its activities.

Women's Association and Future

In conclusion, we assert that a lot awaits the Women's Association. Our country's aspirations for progress and prosperity go hand in hand with the aspirations of the various organizations and associations, the most prominent of which is the Women's Association. Society's progress will be parallel to the progress of all concerned. Nothing awaits the association other than its linking itself to the reality and than expanding the sphere of its interests so as to express all the concerns of the Yemeni woman.

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YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

FRG FINANCES YAR PROJECTS--The talks to develop cooperation between the FRG and the YAR held by brother 'Ali Lutf al-Thawr, the minister of development and the chairman of the Central Planning Agency, during his visit to Bonn have been concluded.

Saba' News Agency has learned that the brother minister of development and the chairman of the Central Planning Agency has concluded several agreements providing 195 million Deutsche marks, or the equivalent of 440 million riyals, to finance Yemeni development projects, including the project for the maintenance of the San'a'-Ta'izz road and the Wadi Mawr project, and to transform the loans advanced by the FRG into grants. The loan advanced by the FRG in the current year is estimated at 25 million marks, or 58 million riyals. The two sides have agreed to use the sum in its entirety to build the water project and the sewerage project for the city of Abb.

This is in addition to the sum allocated previously for the project by the German side and amounting to 20 million Deutsche marks. [Text] [San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 Apr 80 p 1] 8494

PURCHASE OF PLANES--An agreement has been reached between the Yemeni Airlines and a Canadian firm specialized in the production of aircraft for the purchase of two jet aircraft of the (Dash) type to be added to our air fleet. This has been announced by brother Muhammad Ahmad al-Haymi, the airlines chairman, who has said in a statement to Saba' News Agency that the cost of the two aircraft amounts to 15 million dollars and that the aircraft will be used for domestic flights because they can land in small airports and on dirt runways. He added that these two modern aircraft which are equipped with the means of safety can accommodate 50 passengers each. [Text] [San'a' AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 Apr 80 p 1] 8494

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